



RECENT DISCOVERIES OF TARENTINE TERRA-COTTAS.

[PLATES LXIII., LXIV.]

THERE are few sites in the Hellenic World that in recent years have been so prolific of discoveries as that of Tarentum. The scheme so earnestly taken up by the Italian Government for converting the half-forgotten nest of fishermen and olive proprietors into a great Mediterranean arsenal, bids fair to restore Taranto to some measure at least of the importance which her unique position secured to her in ancient days. The mediæval citys hut up within the limits of its peninsular site, the Akropolis of the ancient Tarentum, blocking the passage from the inner to the outer sea, is again enlarging its borders, and a new quarter—the Borgo Nuovo—is rising on the mainland to the east where lay the Agora of the great Doric city. The inner sea—the *Mar Piccolo*—the Limên of Tarentum, at present laid out in gardens for the ‘sea-fruit’ which supplies the Naples market, is already being deepened in its south-eastern bay to form a secure and unassailable harbour, and the leviathans of the new Italian navy will henceforth anchor in the same historic port whence Hannibal transferred the Tarentine galleys adry to the outer sea.

The actual ‘mouth’ of the *Mar Piccolo* opening between the north-western point of the Akropolis Peninsula and the western terra-firma, the entrance which the Roman masters of the Citadel

effectually blocked, has been long rendered impassable for larger craft by gradual silting, and accordingly, to obtain access to the inner harbour, it has been found necessary to cut a new channel from the inner to the outer sea. This channel now in course of excavation follows the line of the old Akropolis fosse and the later *Canalone* of the Castello, and thus traverses the neck of the peninsula between the old and new quarters of Taranto, or in other words between the Akropolis and Agora of the Greek City.

These various excavations and new foundations, carried out many of them in the heart of the commercial quarter of the ancient Tarentum, have naturally borne a rich harvest of archæological discovery. The importance of the finds which the new works were daily bringing to light was such, indeed, as to induce the Italian Government to place them under the inspection of a competent antiquary, and the charge of observing and reporting on each fresh discovery was entrusted to Signor Luigi Viola, whose Hellenic studies and intimate acquaintance with the ancient sites of Great Greece as well as of its mother country made him pre-eminently fitted for the post. The researches of Signor Viola, carried on under these favourable conditions, have already thrown an entirely new light on the topography of ancient Tarentum, and one of the first and most important contributions made by him to our knowledge was the re-discovery of a Doric Temple within the limits of the ancient Akropolis, the remains of which, lost in the structure of later houses, had almost entirely escaped attention since they were first inaccurately alluded to by Carducci in his note to Aquino *Le delizie Tarentine* (p. 393). The actual remains—parts of two columns and of the stylobate—are to be seen in the courtyard of the Oratorio of the *Congrega della Trinità*, on the Via di Mezzo which forms the major axis of the mediæval city, and not far from the eastern end of the Akropolis. The capitals are of severe and heavy archaic style, and the measurement¹ of the columns as well as the general aspect of the whole corresponds almost exactly to that of the temple of Ortygia and the

¹ The measurements as given by Signor Viola (*Memorie della r. Accademia dei Lincei*, ix. 493) are as follows :
 lower diameter of columns 1·90 m. ; upper 1·55 m. ; height 8·47 metres from level of stylobate to top of abacus. The number of the flutes however is 24 in place of 16 at Ortygia.

earliest of the Selinuntine temples, and may be referred to the first half of the sixth century B.C. The great Doric colony of Magna Græcia has thus its worthy monument of Doric style, and we may well accept Signor Viola's opinion that this massive pile rising on the most prominent site of the Akropolis and commanding afar both the inner and the open sea, was in fact the shrine of Poseidôn, the father of Taras the Eponymic founder of the city and the natural patron of its maritime greatness.

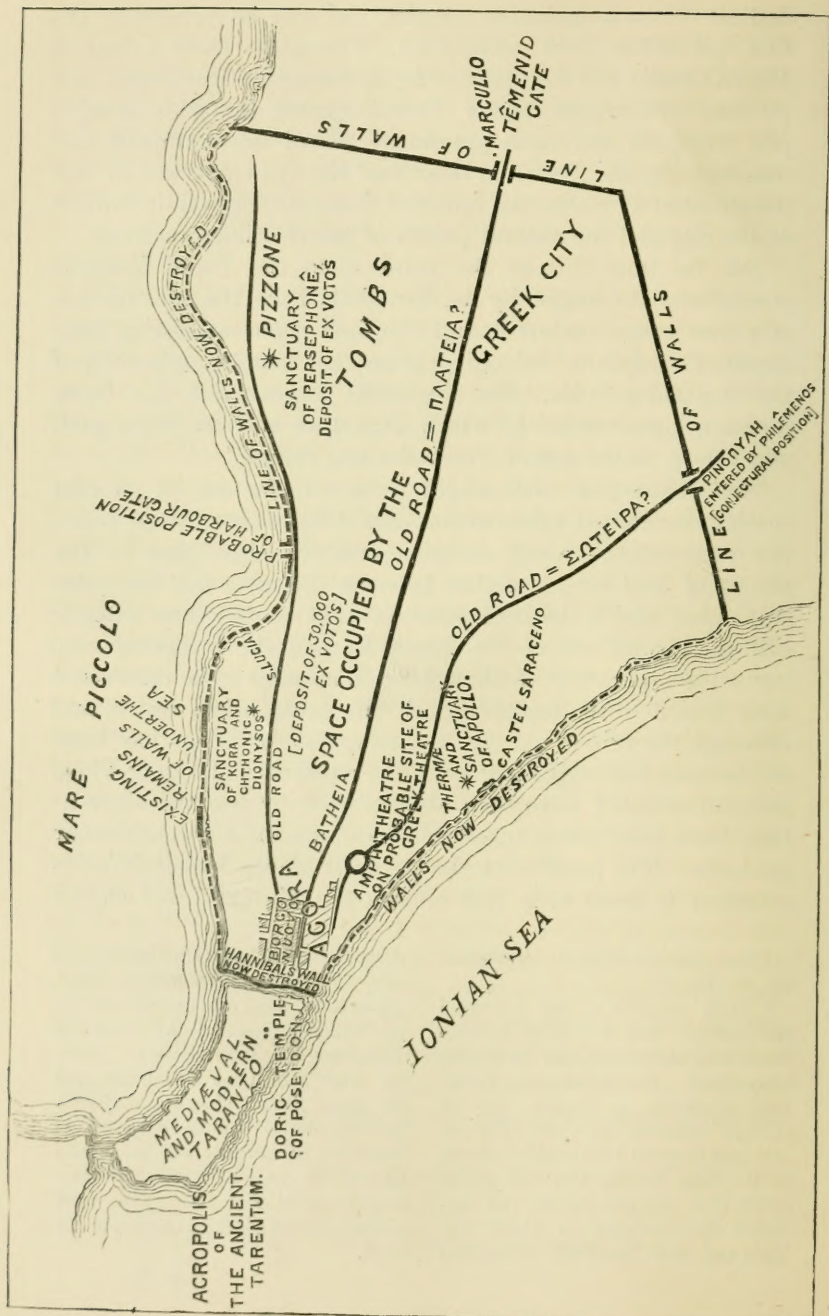
Not far from this, at the point where the Via di Mezzo is crossed at right angles by the Vico della Pace, the construction of a new water conduit brought to light some interesting fragments of sculpture¹ belonging to another temple, apparently of the Corinthian order. The fragments formed part of a frieze representing a combat in which Tarentine warriors play a part, and belong to the age of Praxiteles and Scopas.²

The discoveries with which, however, we are at present specially concerned, relate to that part of the ancient Tarentum,—the town proper,—which occupied such an ample space on the tongue of land that stretches between the inner and the outer sea, and of which the peninsular, or what we may now already call the insular site of the Akropolis and the mediæval city, forms the taper end. Although much remains to be discovered with regard to the topography of this great urban region, and although the ruin of its streets and public buildings has been of the most thoroughgoing kind, the researches of Signor Viola, many of which I have been able to verify by personal observation, have done much to establish certain fixed points for our guidance. The position of the Agora is shown by Strabo's description to have been just outside the Akropolis and at the

¹ See *Memorie della r. Accademia*, &c., ix. Tav. iv.

² Viola (op. cit.) has expressed the opinion that a combat between Tarentines and a barbarian foe is here represented. The well-known Tarentine Anathema at Delphi may be thought to favour this view. For my own part however I am unable to detect in the long flowing hair and round shield of a youthful warrior, the barbarian characteristics on which Sig. Viola and after him Prof. Helbig base

this opinion. The free flowing style of hair and round unornamented shield appear as frequent characteristics of the youthful warriors on the Tarentine didrachms of fourth-century date: the lance which he brandishes and the horse beside him are decidedly Tarentine traits. In the best period of Tarentine numismatic art the armed Ephebi are generally represented bare-headed, armed with lances and round shields, and with locks streaming in the wind.



western extremity therefore of the outer city; occupying much of the space now covered by the Borgo Nuovo. Here too was the cross-road leading from the inner to the outer sea, along which Hannibal transported the Tarentine galleys from the blockaded inner port. Of this cross-road across the isthmus no vestige now remains, but from the site of the Agora there leads an old line of road bisecting with sufficient exactness the tongue of land on which the ancient city stood, and which Signor Viola with great probability has identified with the main street of Tarentum, the Broad Street mentioned by Polybios and Livy, leading down from the Agora and upper part of the town into the Deep Way or Batheia, and thence to the Têmenid gate where Hannibal effected his entry. Accepting this view, the point where this road crosses the outer line of the city wall marks the site of the Têmenid gate, and the identification of a neighbouring eminence beyond, known as the Erta di Cicalone, with the sepulchral mound of Hyakinthos, or the Hyakinthian Apollo, whence Hannibal made the fire-signal to the conspirators within the walls, entirely squares with this conclusion. Another ancient road starting from the site of the Agora and traversing the eastern city wall to the south of the other, not far from the outer sea, is shown by Signor Viola's researches to correspond to that followed on the way to the Agora by Philêmenos and his band after effecting their entry simultaneously with the others by the small gate or *ῥινοπύλη* described as near the Têmenid. It is this street, apparently, that is later on alluded to as *Soteira*.

The line of the walls themselves where they traverse the space between the Ionian and the inner sea can be made out in places both by the actual remains of Hellenic masonry and by the traces of a fosse, now known as the *Canalone*. The walls are built of large blocks in form of parallelopipeds, 1·07 metre long, 0·48 metre high and 0·72 metre broad, without mortar, and in Signor Viola's opinion date from the last half of the fifth century B.C., the period of Tarentum's greatest bloom. After leaving the outer sea they pursue an easterly direction till about half way they make a sudden bend towards the north. On the side of the Mar Piccolo they can be traced in two places under the water, and an old road which here descends towards a cove of the ancient inner port probably

indicates the position of the harbour gate through which the Roman Governor, cut off from his natural line of retreat by Hannibal's stolen march to the Agora, escaped to the quay, and was thus enabled to make his way to the Akropolis by boat. On the side of the outer sea no traces of the old wall are now visible, nor is anything now to be seen of the cross-wall athwart the neck of the isthmus by which the Carthaginian chief sought to protect the town from the attacks of the Romans in the Akropolis. The total area within the walls, as given on the plan prepared by the engineer G^o. Tascone, is no less than 5,287,694 square metres, to which must be added another 419,040 square metres for the Akropolis.

Of the public buildings and monuments that existed within the limits of the outer city in the days of Tarentine greatness we have as yet very imperfect data, though, as will be seen, minor monuments have been discovered which give us a welcome clue to the whereabouts of three at least of the Tarentine sanctuaries. The Mousaion in which the Roman Governor banqueted 'not wisely but too well,' the fine Gymnasium with its colossal bronze Zeus, the work of Lysippos, the temple of Vesta with its celebrated statue of a Satyr, have yet to be discovered, but on the other hand the remains of a Greek building have come to light, which from the traditional name of the spot Peripàto, Signor Viola has with singular felicity identified with one of the *περιπάτους* or public lounges—Livy translates the term 'porticus'—which according to Polybios were closed by Pyrrhos along with the *γυμνάσια* as too favourite a resort of the luxurious Tarentine youth. The same explorer has also convinced himself that the Roman Amphitheatre, remains of which exist on the neck of the isthmus between the two seas, occupied in fact the site of the older Tarentine theatre, the scene of the historic but not unprovoked insult to the Roman ambassador.

Of coins the site of this wealthy city is naturally prolific, and I need only mention here the recent discovery of a hoard of nearly 2,000 Tarentine silver-pieces which had been deposited about the time of the Roman Conquest. Of the manufactures of 'Lacedæmonian Tarentum,' a most interesting relic may still be observed in enormous accumulations of crushed purple shells which occur along the shores of the Mar Piccolo. As has been

well pointed out by Lenormant,¹ these include the two varieties of the purple shell employed by the ancients—both the *Murex brandaris* which strews the site of the dyeworks of Gythion on the Laconian coast, and the *Murex trunculus* which marks the scenes of Tyrian industry. Carducci² indeed, in his account of Tarentine antiquities describes the actual remains of a stone basin and pipe belonging to ancient dyeworks still tinged with the purple deposit. These are no longer to be seen ; but amongst some smaller trinkets recently obtained from the Tarentine site I noticed a gold ring deeply engraved with a purple shell and of Hellenic fabric, which may well have been the property of one of the overseers of this remunerative industry.

But the most important revelations as to the public and private cult, the arts and every-day life of the ancient Tarentines, have been supplied by the discovery of vast deposits of various terra-cotta objects, ranging in style from the most archaic forms to those of the highest artistic development and onwards again to the period of decadence. Amongst the finds of this class three are of special interest as indicating the proximity of local sanctuaries. The first of these deposits was discovered hard by the remains of the Roman Thermæ at a spot known as Castel Saraceno, overlooking the outer sea. It consisted of more or less perfect figurines amongst which Apollo holding a lyre formed the principal type, though Muses and other female representations were also found. The statuettes were of the best period, and at present form part of the Tarentine series in the Museo Nazionale at Naples. It is obvious that this find belongs to the same class as the ex-votos found between the temples of Poseidôn and Dêmêtêr and Kora at Pæstum, those of the temple of Dêmêtêr at Tegea, those of the temple of Jovia Damusa at Capua, of Persephonê at Halikarnassos, and of the Chthonic deities at Knidos, and their accumulation marks in the present case the proximity of a shrine of Apollo. The character of the objects found in the two other still more extensive deposits of the same class, connected respectively with sanctuaries of Kora and the Chthonic Dionysos, will be best judged by the specimens that I am able to lay before this Society.

¹ *La Grande Grèce*, T. I. p. 107.

² Cited by Viola, *Memorie dei Lincci*, 1881, p. 519.

As the result of repeated visits to Taranto, I have been able to collect a large number of terra-cottas of various kinds selected from many thousands of others, the whole of which I have now deposited in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. I cannot here pretend to do more than give a summary account of the principal illustrative types.

The Tarentine terra-cottas may be conveniently divided into the following classes:

1. Those having relation to local sanctuaries, including reliefs, figurines, and masks.

2. Those from the tombs, including figurines and other objects found in the sepulchral cists and chambers, and portions of sepulchral slabs, friezes and antefixes which adorned the outside of the monuments.

3. Objects of miscellaneous use including tesserae, impressions of gems and signets, the so-called weights, or perforated disks, and moulds including some apparently intended to stamp holy cakes.

I.—TERRA-COTTA OBJECTS CONNECTED WITH LOCAL SANCTUARIES.

Amongst these in point of numbers a first place is claimed by a series of specimens belonging to a vast deposit of terra-cotta figures and reliefs found about five years since in the Fondo Giovinazzo, near the Villa di S. Lucia, on a slight eminence which overlooks the inner sea. Of this deposit no less than 20,000 specimens were collected by Signor Viola and sent to Naples, where they are at present in one of the vaults of the Museo Nazionale. A large number, however, have found their way into private hands, many of which have come to light since the first discovery, and from the number that have come under my own inspection, as well as from reports of the numerous consignments which have reached various foreign museums, dealers and collectors, it will be safe to estimate at at least 30,000 the number of pieces already extracted from this site. All the pieces found are more or less fragmentary.

In style these terra-cottas present every transition of type from the archaic and transitional periods to the first half

of the third century B.C. In the subjects, however, there is a general uniformity. The principal persons represented are three in number. Firstly, a recumbent male figure generally crowned with a band or fillet which is adorned with roses, lotos-flower, or palmetto, alone or in combination, and which is often twisted into a turban-like form that gives the whole a singularly Oriental appearance. This recumbent figure is naked to the loins and lies upon a couch resting his elbow on the cushion and facing the spectator; in one hand he holds either a handleless cup or a *kantharos*. At the foot of the couch, also facing the spectator, is seated a female form dressed in a *chiton*, and with a veil dependent from the back of her richly-developed hair: in her arms she holds a male infant who reaches out towards the recumbent figure, and sometimes lays hold of the extended *kantharos*. The recumbent figure in his turn sometimes grasps the child's arm. There are infinite variations of this arrangement. Sometimes the child is absent; sometimes the recumbent figure holds out the wine-cup to the seated female, and her head again is often covered with a *stephanos* as well as the veil. At times, too, the male and female figures are seen seated side by side. There are besides various accessory representations to which reference will be subsequently made, and some exceptional cases where the recumbent figure holds a lyre.

The main type however is constant enough, and it will be noticed at once that its scheme answers with sufficient exactness to the well-known 'funeral feast' as it appears on Greek and Greco-Roman sepulchral slabs.¹

A terra-cotta example of this design from the face of a Tarentine tomb will be described in the course of this communication, and for a sepulchral slab also of Tarentine provenance containing a very interesting version of the same representation, I need only refer to the important paper of Professor Gardner, published in the Journal of this Society,² in which the whole subject of these sepulchral banquets receives exhaustive discussion. There can, as Professor Gardner has

¹ See P. Pervanoglu, *Das Familienmahl auf altgriechischen Grabsteinen*, Leipzig, 1872.

² *Hellenic Journal*, Vol. V. 1884, p.

102, seqq. Cf. Milchhöfer's remarks, *Mith. d. deutschen Arch. Inst. in Athen*, iv. (1879).

shown, be no longer any reasonable doubt that these reliefs do in fact present to us an embodiment of the heroized dead receiving the offerings and affectionate devotion of their bereaved kinsfolk and friends. It is in fact a sufficiently literal adaptation by Hellenic cult of a well-known scene of Egyptian sepulchral iconography, though the later scheme of the couch and recumbent figure betrays the influence of Assyrian fashions and recalls the feast of Assurbanipal as depicted for us in the Kujundjik relief.

Great, however, as the resemblance is between these terracotta objects and the familiar sepulchral subject, there are, as I hope to show, strong reasons for believing that in the present instance we have to deal with the same design as transferred from the cult of the dead person to that of Chthonic divinities, and modified to suit its new religious application. The scene before us represents, in fact, the mystic union of Persephonê-Kora and the Chthonic Dionysos, and the infant is no other than Iacchos, the child of Kora, the annual pledge of the New Birth from the sleep of Winter and the sleep of Death. These ex-votos, for such we may regard them, fit in thus with a Chthonic cult widely spread throughout Southern Italy, and that in Greek colonies of most heterogeneous origin, a cult which at Tarentum as elsewhere had its roots no doubt in the pre-existing belief of the older inhabitants of the country which had been adopted and adapted by the later Hellenic colonists. The survival of earlier cults is indeed nowhere more marked than at Tarentum itself, where over and above the appropriation of the indigenous horse-god of the Messapians and Iapygians we find the cult of the eponymic founder of the præ-Hellenic city almost entirely displacing that of the Lacedæmonian Phalanthos to whom the Greek settlement owed its origin. Sometimes the adaptation of the earlier worship to a Hellenic guise attributes it to a different personality, but at bottom the worship is the same. At Krotôn we see the cult of the indigenous Earth-goddess identified with that of the Argive Hêra Antheia, but, as Lenormant has pointed out, the name of the 'Lakinian Hêra' presents a suggestive analogy with *lakis* a Pelasgian word for earth. In the same way the male deity with which this Chthonic worship is associated may take the form of Poseidôn as well as of Dionysos. The coinage of Magna Græcia is itself a speaking witness to the

extension of the cult in one form or another throughout Southern Italy, and when we remember how largely the native population, as found there by the first Greek settlers themselves, represented an earlier wave of emigration from 'Greece before the Greeks,' it becomes evident that the Hellenes both in the old country and in their western plantations may have derived the characteristic features of this form of Chthonic worship from the same ancient race. Eleusis when she introduced her mysteries to Athens had not forgotten her "Thracian" parentage.

The special cult of Persephonê-Gaia at Tarentum is illustrated by another highly important deposit of terra-cottas to which I shall presently refer, undoubtedly belonging to a sanctuary of that goddess. Here it is sufficient to remark that the seated female figure at the foot of the couch is in all respects similar to the types of the goddess as they appear amongst the relics of this other repository. The identification of the Kourotrophos and her babe with Kora and Iacchos may therefore be looked upon as ascertained, but the male recumbent figure presents the difficulty, that it appears alternately with and without a beard. Dr. Wolters, indeed, who has described some terra-cottas belonging to the present deposit that had found their way into the Bonn Museum, considers the appearance of the youthful as well as the maturer versions of the figure on the couch to be sufficient proof that the whole scene belongs to the usual series of sepulchral designs already referred to, representing the funeral feast. But the objections to this theory are obvious. On the tombs we find a variety of figures and attendants, at times indeed a wife and child, but as often a parent or whole groups of mourning partakers in this primitive communion feast. Here the main type is rigorously fixed, and except for the alternate representations of beardless youth and bearded manhood there is no individualization of features. Such difference as there seems to be in the various heads is due to the changing style of the different periods in which they were moulded. The identification again of the seated figure with the mystic Kora goes far to prove that the recumbent figure belongs to the same category, divine rather than merely heroic. It seems to me, if I may venture on a suggestion, that we have here to deal with the same Chthonic Dionysos, indeed, but under different aspects.

In the one case he is the youthful Koros, the natural counterpart of Kora, just as her Roman equivalent Libera finds her mate in the beardless Liber. In the other case he is seen in his graver aspect as Dionysos-Hadês or Dionysos-Piuto, the ruler of the Shades.

That this is in fact the true explanation receives a remarkable confirmation from some of the votive figures found by Professor Newton in the Temenos of Dêmêtêr and Persephonê at Budrum (Halicarnassos).¹ Amongst the terra-cotta *ex votis* there discovered, not only do we see both types of Dionysos, the bearded and the beardless, associated as here with figures of the two Chthonic goddesses, but the Halicarnassian types agree to a surprising extent, even to the crown of roses and the turban-like head-gear, with representations from the present deposit. I may here content myself with Professor Newton's description of three of these :

No. 16. Youthful Dionysos, the lower half of the body clothed in a *peplos*; the hair long and crowned with a wreath of flowers.

No. 17. Bearded Dionysos, the lower half of the body clothed in a *peplos* which falls over the left arm, in the left hand a *phiale*.

No. 18. Bearded head, probably of Dionysos, from the back of the head a veil or linen head-dress falls over the shoulders.

Associated with these were votive figures of the Kourophoros.

That it is Dionysos and no other with whom we have to deal—

‘*Βάκχος ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν, ἐνὶ φθιμένοις Αἰδωνεύς,*’

appears from several other circumstances. Sometimes an archaic head of Silênos is seen above the shoulder of the recumbent figure, and a later representation of Silênos will be seen amongst the associated objects that I am able to exhibit. An amphora,² again, is visible at times beneath the couch in addition to the extended wine-cup or kantharos. On another fragment that I am able to describe, the head of the seated Kora is seen encanopied with a vine-spray. That in other cases a round

¹ *History of discoveries at Halicarnassus, Unidus and Branchidae*, by C. T. Newton, Vol. ii. pt. i. p. 329, and

pl. xlv. fig. 6.

² Cf. Helbig, *Bullettino di Corr. Archeologica*, 1881, p. 198.

shield is shown behind the male figure which in a fragment in the Bonn Museum¹ is seen on his uplifted left arm, seems to connect itself with the heroic aspect of the present cult of which other evidence is forthcoming.

Besides this main group of three figures having an obvious reference to the mysteries of a Chthonic cult, there occur in the same deposit other associated objects such as the figures of Silênos already referred to, which must be regarded as having a religious connexion with the preceding. It is to be remarked, however, that with the exception of the archaic Silênos mask, these extraneous subjects do not occur, so far as I have been able to observe, amongst the earlier class of terra-cottas found in this deposit—those namely of archaic and transitional style. The style to which these associated objects belong is exclusively that of the best period of art or that of the early decline, while the figures of Kora and Dionysos on the contrary are seen in every stage of artistic development from the earliest to the latest. We have here, therefore, to deal with a devotional usage of later date engrafted on an earlier cult.

This later group centres round certain hippic and equestrian figures. Horses' heads, sometimes with the head of a rider, appear executed in the very finest style of art. Of a somewhat later fourth century date are figures of youthful warriors either on horseback or standing or seated by their steeds, of which full representations now occur. The youthful riders are nude except sometimes for a chlamys about their shoulders, and a crested helmet or a peaked pileus on their heads, and they hold on their left arm a round shield. Both the horses and riders present a striking resemblance to many of the mounted ephêbi on the fourth century didrachms of Tarentum. They occur as a rule in single figures, but on a fragment amongst the series exhibited there are represented a youth on horseback and part of the over-lapping anterior part of another horse, doubtless with a twin rider, and the resemblance of the design to that on the Tarentine staters with the legend ΔΙΟΣΚΟΠΟΙ is such that it is impossible not to recognize in the present case also a representation of Castor and Pollux, the equestrian patrons of 'Lacedæmonian Tarentum.' The inference that the single

¹ *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1882, T. xiv. f. 4.

figures also represent one or other of the Dioskuri must therefore be considered strong. Above the mounted figure or in close relation to it, there appears at times a head of Pallas, full-face, and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet.

The fine horse's head which is so prominent an object amongst the remains of this deposit belonging to the best period suggests some interesting reflections. Just as the main group on these terra-cottas, though associated with a cult of Chthonic deities, is based on a known sepulchral type, in its origin referring purely and simply to the cult of the departed human spirit, so here we see a symbol which though in its later application we find it associated with the cult of the Dioskuri is, in its origin at least, equally sepulchral in its significance. The horse's head, or protomê, as is well known, is introduced, generally in a sunken square, into the field of a great number of Greek sepulchral slabs representing the funeral feast. An interesting and peculiarly pertinent example of the appearance of an entire horse on a funeral monument will be found in a Spartan relief representing an archaic bearded figure of the heroized departed enthroned and holding in the right hand a pomegranate, and in the left a kantharos. A dog leaps up at his feet and in the field above is seen a horse facing to the right.¹ Furtwaengler in his commentary on this stone² has shown that the horse in this and other similar reliefs, on many of which we see the deceased person himself mounted on horseback or leading the horse,³ is to be generally regarded as a symbol of the heroized estate of the departed. We may go back a step further indeed and say that just as the fruit and wine-cup image forth the offerings and libations to the dead as still provided by a more civilized age, so the representations of the animals characteristic of the hunter or the rider point not obscurely to the once widespread practice of sacrificing his most useful animals to the ghost of their departed master to aid him in his pilgrimage to the Nether World.

It has been objected, indeed, that the idea of the Riding Dead, so universal amongst primitive peoples, and of which we find such grim expression on Etruscan monuments, was alien to pure

¹ *Mith. d. deutsch n arch. Inst. in Athen*, vii. (1882) Pl. vii.

² *Op. cit.* p. 160 seqq.

³ For examples of this class cf. Pervanoglu, *Das Familienmahl*, &c. *passim*.

Hellenic ideas. But such a view seems very doubtful. The belief in the infernal river found in such widely remote parts of the world is not by any means inconsistent with the employment of horses by the departed whether on the way to the fatal brink or in the Elysian fields beyond. The various monuments on Hellenic soil in which the heroized departed is seen accompanied by his faithful charger are themselves a speaking evidence to the contrary, and were it even admitted that the idea was in its origin non-Hellenic, it was too wide-spread not to have been taken over with one or other of the barbarian elements which Hellenism incorporated and assimilated. So far at least as these terra-cottas are concerned, the cult with which we have to deal is admittedly of non-Hellenic origin. Whence come the Dioskuri? By what broad line of demarcation is the cult of the rose-crowned Dionysos with which we have to deal to be separated from that of the Thracian Sabazios? And as to the Chthonic deities Persephonê and her mother, the Greeks themselves referred to them as the 'Pelasgian goddesses.'

The early monuments of this class show us that here again on the terra-cotta reliefs of this deposit we have to deal with a design which is at bottom purely sepulchral. But here as in the former case the originally sepulchral function has received a new application. In the later representations of the horse on these terra-cottas, we find it closely associated with the cult of the Dioskuri, the national heroes of the original Parthenian colonists of Tarentum, standing here as the divine representatives of the heroized departed in general.¹ The attachment of this sepulchral idea to Chthonic worship in various forms is traceable indeed in many ancient myths. In its hippic aspect it reappears in the horse-headed Dêmêtêr Melaina of Phigalia, and is repeated in the horse Arion of the sky-blue mane, born by Dêmêtêr Erinnys to Poseidôn, who, besides his hippic attributes, stood in a special relation to Tarentum as the father of its eponymic founder. The cult of the Hippic deities was, as we know from

¹ Furtwaengler, who had not these Tarentine terra-cottas before him to confirm his views, observes (*op. cit.* p. 166), "Der Zusammenhang der Rosse des Erddunkels und der des Lichtes zeigen deutlich die Dioskuren deren

Begriff aus dem Allgemeinen des Heros mit dem Pferde abgeleitet scheint." He adds, "nicht zu vergessen sind die Rosse, Reiter, und Gespanne aus Thon in alterthümlichen Gräbern als Gaben an den Heros."

an inscription as well as its coinage, specially connected with this city, and this cult must surely have stood in close relation to that of Hades in his Homeric character of *Κλυτόπωλος*.

Reviewing then the general character of the present deposit we see that the terra-cotta representations here found must be rather regarded as primarily concerned with the cult of Chthonic deities and national heroes than with that of departed human spirits. The starting-point of these representations, whether of the recumbent form on the couch and the Kourotrophos at its foot, or of the horse and horseman, may indeed be regarded as purely sepulchral. But there is here a certain severity and fixity of type which one misses on the tombs. To take the instance of the Spartan monuments on which the funeral feast is so well represented, we find, instead of the veil and stephanos, the oriental fillet or the crown of roses and palmettoes, no head-gear other than that of every-day life. The seated figure holding the cup is male or female indifferently, according to the sex of the departed. In place of the mystic infant reaching towards the recumbent figure, and the matronly full-facing form of the Kourotrophos, we find, on one stone at least, a very mortal maiden, with one hand filling her lord's wine-cup, and with the other displaying her charms. In the Tarentine relief already referred to we see the recumbent bearded figure on the couch accompanied by a youth, not improbably his son, on whose shoulder he affectionately lays his hand, while another youth holds by the bridle his noble Tarentine steed. In the terra-cotta slab from another Tarentine tomb which I am able to exhibit, a naked boy holds ready the *œnochoë* to replenish the *kantharos* of his heroized master.¹ A different spirit it will be seen pervades these purely sepulchral representations, and they are of more varied design, as suited to the sex and the condition of the deceased. The serpent, whose monstrous coils are seen beside the female figure on

¹ The cup in the hands of the heroized departed or offered to them by their attendants is in fact a sculptural improvement on the earlier and simpler sepulchral practice of placing vessels on the grave. This practice still survives throughout large parts of Eastern Europe, and of its former

existence at Tarentum itself there is evidence in an epitaph of the local poet Leonidas (c. lxxvii) on the bibulous Maronis whose ghost mourns not for the loss of children or husband, but that the cup over her grave—"ἥς ὑπὲρ τάφου γνωστή πρόκειται πᾶσιν Ἀιτική κύλιξ—should be empty.

some of the fragments from this deposit, is of very superior dimensions to those ancestral snakes of primitive household cult,—whose breed is not yet extinct in once Hellenic lands,—that we find on the sepulchral reliefs. Its truly infernal dimensions at once carry away the imagination to the halls of Dis.

In connexion with these Chthonic surroundings, the form of the head-dress which crowns the recumbent figure of Dionysos-Pluto, and is also occasionally seen on the head of the Kourotrophos at the foot of the couch, is of considerable significance. The broad fillet or turban, with its central palmetto rising like the decoration of a gable, and its side roses, suggests at once a structural parallel; and some of these fragments have actually been taken for this reason to be part of the antefixes of tombs. This they certainly were not, but the suggestion contains an important element of truth. A comparison of the gable-like crowns of some of these Chthonic figures, and the pointed summits of some early Greek sepulchral stêlæ, shows that both in their ornaments and their characteristic form, so unlike ordinary wreaths, they are in fact derived from the *akroteria* of the tombs. The central palmetto, with the roses on either side of it, and sometimes below as well, is in fact a conventional adornment of a whole class of Greek stêlæ, some of early date. The religious significance of such a frontal adornment as transferred from the monument which represented the individual dead to the Earth-god who represented the departed in their collective aspect will be readily intelligible. It forms, in fact, another illustration of a process—to which these Tarentine *ex votos* as a whole bear such ample witness—the appropriation namely by gods of mythopoeic growth of religious forms and rites which were once the *peculium* of departed human spirits. And if, as I venture to believe can be ultimately shown—though the discussion of such a subject lies far beyond the limits of our present theme—the tombstone was itself regarded as the actual embodiment of the dead person, and received its offerings and libations as his visible presence long before men thought of graving it with his image, it may happen that the sepulchral *apices* of these Chthonic deities take us back to a stage of religious development long anterior to that so well illustrated by the figures themselves. The monumental feature attached

in the present case to the effigy of the Chthonic god supplies, in fact, a link of connexion with a rude primæval worship of the stêlê, as 'possessed' and tenanted by the spirit of the departed, a form of sepulchral religion, illustrations of which may still be found in modern India.

As connected with the doctrine of the mysteries and the personified idea of the perpetually-recurring death of Nature, preparatory to that re-birth of which the child Iacchos in the lap of Mother-Earth is here the type, two specimens in the present selection are specially suggestive. These are two fragments, (fig. 1) representing the upper part of the form of the Chthonic Dionysos with the sepulchral *apcx* on his head, and in other respects conforming to the usual type, but with closed and sunken eyes as if wrapped in the sleep of death.



FIG. 1.

The figures upon the terra-cotta reliefs of this deposit must be regarded then as representing the Chthonic Dionysos, associated with Persephonê, as identified with Mother-Earth, and the mystic child, and certain Hippiæ deities with which their cult was associated.¹ But the analogy of the whole scheme of the design to that of purely sepulchral reliefs is so intimate and unmistakable that it is impossible to exclude a reference to the cult of departed human spirits. As *ex votis* such tablets might be

¹ The adaptation of this sepulchral design to the cult of the Chthonic Dionysos and the Kourotrophos finds a perfect parallel in the adaptation of

the same design to the cult of Asklepîos and Hygieia which is well brought out by Prof. Gardner *loc. cit.* p. 115, *seqq.*

offered by bereaved friends on behalf of their heroized relatives to the divinities who presided over the ΘΕΟΙ ΚΑΤΑΧΘΟΝΙΟΙ in general, rather than to the individual departed spirit. And in order better to harmonize the practice with individual needs we see the Chthonic divinity represented alternately in his youthful and in his maturer aspect, as the *ex voto* was for the young or old.

With regard to the character of the deposit, it was at first urged by Signor Viola that the fact that all the objects found were broken militated against the idea that it was a collection of *ex votos* belonging to a temple, and pointed rather to the conclusion that this was a refuse-heap from some manufactory of terra-cottas. Signor Viola has, however, I believe, found reason to modify this opinion, and at present holds that the deposit is one of votive offerings, indicating the former presence of a sanctuary of the Chthonic Dionysos at this spot. The long period of time, at least a couple of centuries, covered by these *ex votos*, as well as their general uniformity of character, certainly points to their connexion with a fixed religious centre, and the usage, attested by several inscriptions, of clearing out accumulations of *ex votos* from temples,¹ and heaping them in repositories, may account for the present find. The fact that the objects are all more or less fractured does not seem to me to weigh against this explanation, for, setting aside the fact that such were precisely those most likely to be cleared out of the temple they encumbered, it is to be remembered that here we have to deal with a cult of the departed, and that, with votive objects designed *in usum mortuorum*, it may have been an essential condition that they should be broken.

Among the objects in the present selection from this deposit, I may signalize the following :—

TERRA-COTTAS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF THE CHTHONIC DIONYSOS, PERSEPHONÊ-GAIA, AND IACCHOS.

1. Upper part of recumbent figure of Dionysos-Pluto holding a shallow cup in his right hand. The head is bearded in

¹ Cf. Helbig, *Bull. di Corr. Arch. und Sicil. Vasenb.* I. p. 14, 15, and 1881, 196, who cites Rangabé *Ant. compare C. I. G. I. n. 1570.*
Hell. II. n. 777. Benndorf, *Griech.*

archaic style, and crowned with a wreath of globularly-represented flowers, from the centre of which rises what is apparently a lotos-bud. Above the wreath is a kind of narrow turban. Height 7·6 in.

2. The same with short beard in a transitional style. A fillet round the brow. Wreath indistinct, but palmetto rising in centre. The locks of hair fall about the shoulders. Two examples; on one of these traces of red paint on a white ground covering the whole of the face, hair, and body. Height 3·1 in.

3. Head and part of the bust of the same recumbent divinity in a style closely resembling the last. Round the brows is a fillet, the front of which is of network adorned with three roses, and the ends of which hang down over the shoulders. Above the central rose is a lotos-bud. The eyes are closed and sunken, and the whole face is a realistic impersonation of the sleep of death. Two examples. Height 3·4 in. (fig. 1).

4. Head of Dionysos-Pluto of the best period. Turban-like fillet, with dependent bands, which is adorned in the front and at the two sides with three roses. Two examples of different sizes.

5. The same, but with part of the naked bust, and a palmetto rising from central rose. Four examples.

6. The same crowned with a broad fillet without the flowers. The head only. Height 4·6 in.

7. Same head, but covered with a twisted turban. Height 3 in.

8. Same head, but beard curving in under the chin. From the centre of the turban rises a tall palmetto. Height 4·3 in.

9. Naked upper part of recumbent figure of youthful Dionysos, his head crowned with fillet and turban, the long bands of which hang down over the shoulders. From the centre of the turban rises an open rose with five petals. Of good period. Height 7·4 in.

10. Archaic bust of the same. The hair, cheeks, and lips coloured red. The top of the head is covered with a broad band; the hair falls in separate curls over his shoulders. He is represented reclining on his left shoulder, and holding a cup in his left hand. Three examples.

11. Head of the same, of good period, with a long narrow

face. The hair, which is freely and elaborately treated, is confined by a band, above which is a narrow, open-work turban. In the centre of this was apparently a palmetto ornament and a rose on either side. Traces of red paint on a white ground. Height 5·3 in.

12. Head of the same, of period of the decadence. Broad fillet and narrow turban, in the centre of which a large five-petalled rose, with lotos-bud behind. Conspicuous traces of red paint cover the whole. Height 3·5 in.

13. Upper part of two full-facing figures, side by side. That to the left is the bearded Dionysos-Pluto, naked as far as the loins, with fillet, turban, and central rose with a palmetto rising above it. The figure to the right is that of Persephonê-Gaia in a chitôn, and with a veil over the back of her head. Height 6·8 in.

14. Part of a couch, with the lower part of the figure of Dionysos-Pluto resting his left elbow on a pillow, and holding in his left hand a cup. His right arm rests on his right leg, which is slightly drawn up. The lower part of the body is draped. Height 7·1 in.

15. Headless full-facing figure of Persephonê-Gaia, robed in diplois; seated in a somewhat stiff attitude, with her hands on her knees, at the foot of the couch. Height 7·3 in.

16. Upper part of seated figure of Persephonê-Gaia; full-facing, with a veil at the back of her head. Her right hand holds the end of her veil as in the act of drawing it back; and immediately above the right arm of the goddess appears the hand of Dionysos extending a kantharos towards her lips. Good period. Height 5·5 in.

17. Head and part of the bust of Persephonê. The hair luxuriantly expanding beneath the veil, and with considerable development of breasts. Good period. Height 5·4 in.

18. Two heads of the same character as last. Fine style of art.

19. Upper part of seated figure of Persephonê-Gaia of the same character, but holding aloft on her left arm the infant Iacchos. Good period. Height 5·4 in.

20. Upper part of seated figure of Persephonê-Gaia, clad in diplois, holding in her lap the infant Iacchos, who crawls to the right, and reaches out his upper arm, apparently to lay hold

of the kantharos of Dionysos-Pluto. Later style. Height 5·3 in.

21. Head of Persephonê-Gaia crowned with fillet, resembling those on heads of Dionysos, with three five-petalled roses and a palmetto rising above that in the centre. The ends of the fillet hang down over the shoulders. Height 3·4 in.

22. Head, apparently of Persephonê-Gaia, in a low petasos-like stephanos, and her hair falling about her neck. Above is a vine-spray forming a canopy over her head. Height 4·1 in.

23. Archaic head of Persephonê-Gaia, with waved hair and low stephanos, from the sides of which a veil coloured red falls about her shoulders. Height 3·1 in.

24. Archaic head of the same, with stephanos and traces of veil. Height 2·7 in.

25. Lower part of figure of Persephonê, with huge serpent coiling at her side. Height 5·3 in.

26. Grotesque figure, much resembling the Egyptian Bes. Height 3·5 in.

27. Upper part of figure of Silênos, the head surrounded with a fillet with dependent bands. Height 3·1 in.

28. Horse's head, in the finest style of art. Two examples, Height 3·8 in.

29. The same, of somewhat later period, with hand of the rider on neck. Two examples. Height 3·5 in.

30. Ditto, but without hand. Height 4·3 in.

31. Warrior, naked except for chlamys which falls behind him; seated three-quarters facing, resting left arm on large round shield, and with the right holding the bridle of his horse which stands behind him, raising its off fore-leg. Height 8·2 in.

32. Naked warrior, in peaked, crested helmet, seated sideways, facing the spectator on a galloping horse. In his left hand he holds a round shield like that of No. 31.

This relief, which is perfect except the horse's head, has two holes, as if for affixing it to a wall. On the other hand, however, it is provided with a prop behind, so as to stand upright on a flat surface. Height 7·5 in.

33. Lower part of naked warrior on prancing horse, overlapped by fore-part of another similar horse. Probably a representation of the Dioskuri, much resembling the device on

some Tarentine coins. (Cf. Carelli, *Nummorum veterum Italiae descriptio*: Didrachms, Tab. cxi. No. 19, T. cxii. No. 6, Staters, T. cii. Nos. 11 and 12, the last with the legend ΔΙΟΣΚΟΠΟΙ.) Tarentine coins with this type range in date from the middle of the fourth to the first quarter of the third century, B.C. Height 3·6 in.

34. Youthful figure, naked except for chlamys, which falls behind, standing in front of horse, on the neck of which he lays his right hand, while with his left he holds a round shield. Height 5 in.

35. Fragment representing naked youth on horseback; turned towards the spectator, with one knee bent under him on the horse's back, and the other leg free, and with his right hand on the horse's bridle. The attitude is reproduced on a whole series of Tarentine didrachms of fourth-century date, exhibiting a youthful horseman, apparently in the act of dismounting, as if equally prepared for pedestrian and equestrian combat. In the fragment of the Tarentine frieze found in the Vico della Pace (see p. 3) a youthful warrior with the same round shield is seen contending on foot beside his horse. Height 3·7 in.

36. Head of Pallas in crested Corinthian helmet. Two examples. Height 4·8 in.

37. Head of Pallas in crested helmet, with side-pieces resembling wings. Two variant examples both of later style than No. 36. Height 3·8 in.

VOTIVE TERRA-COTTAS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF PERSEPHONÊ.

On the elevated plateau called Pizzone, that rises in the S.E. angle of the ancient city, and part of which is occupied by the tombs, another great deposit of terra-cottas has been brought to light, and in this case the further discovery by Signor Viola of a fragment of a dedicatory inscription¹ in archaic letters shows that we have here again to deal with an ancient sanctuary. The figures themselves occur on the very surface of the ground, which is scattered with fragments of terra-cottas and small

¹ ——— ΕΠΩΙΕ

————— ΕΞΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ. *Memorie*

della r. Accad. dei Lincei, xi. 1883, p. 296.

vases.¹ Not far from this spot various niches are to be seen hewn out of the rock, in all probability like those at Daphnê, which they much resemble, consecrated to one or more of the gods. The terra-cottas themselves show a different type from those found in the preceding depository, and many of them, unlike the others, are in an unbroken condition. The prevailing types here are female heads or masks of different styles and periods—some of life size, and of exquisite workmanship—and standing female figures, some of which hold in their left arm a pig, while others of the same character hold the cross-torch and pomegranate. Amongst the other objects discovered are various animals, including a whole series of votive pigs. On the whole, there can be no doubt that the principal divinities represented, and with whose mysteries the pig is naturally associated, are either Dêmêtêr or Persephonê or both of these goddesses, and Signor Viola, who has had the advantage of studying a very large series from this deposit, has arrived at the conclusion that the divinity to whom these votive figures were dedicated is, in fact, Persephonê.²

The general character of many of the later figures presents striking points of analogy with those discovered by Professor Newton in the sanctuary of Persephonê at Halikarnassos, and those of Persephonê from the Knidian Temenos of the Chthonic deities. I am able, however, to exhibit a series recently found together in an archaic stratum of this deposit which have an altogether unique interest, as presenting forms almost purely Egyptian in character. This remarkable find was of very limited extent, but I have succeeded in securing some of the finest and most characteristic specimens discovered. With them, indicating no less clearly than their forms the influences under which they were moulded, were found a few scarabæi, one of which I am also able to exhibit. It is of a pale blue composition, and represents what may be looked on as a

¹ It is thus described by Viola (*loc. cit.*): "tutta la superficie è sparsa di frammenti di terrecotte figurate e di piccoli vasettini, che io credo simbolici, ed inoltre basta dare un colpo di zappa perchè vengano fuori moltissimi frammenti di statuette e di vasi di creta."

² As a local reference to the cult of the Chthonic Persephonê, may be cited the poem of the Tarentine poet Leonidas in which the shepherd prays his fellows *πρὸς Γῆς* that offerings may be brought to his tomb "*χθονίης εἵνεκα Φερσεφώνης*." (c. xeviii.)

FIG. 5.



FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

degeneration of a lion—though its tail is turned into an ornamental twist separate from the body—leaping down on an ibex, which looks back towards it. The device is enclosed in a border of the simple segmented kind. This scarab, in its material, form, and design, shows a striking resemblance to some of those found at Naukratis, though, as somewhat similar scarabs have been found in Sardinia and elsewhere, it would be rash to conclude from this evidence alone that it was imported from the town of potters. The associated terra-cottas, however, seem to have been moulded under such direct Egyptian influence, that it is difficult not to believe that many of them were imported direct from Egypt to Tarentum; and the blending of Greek and Egyptian religious types which they exhibit encourages a hope that the present excavations at Naukratis may settle in the most conclusive way the question of their provenance.

The general character of this archaic deposit will, however, be best gathered from the following description of the specimens that I was able to obtain from it :—

SANCTUARY OF PERSEPHONÊ-GAIA.
TERRA-COTTAS FROM ARCHAIC STRATUM.

1. Female figure, which, in its general aspect, and especially the square cutting and flat face of the lower part, is an almost exact reproduction of the *répondant* of Egyptian tombs. The wig-like hair falls in straight curls on either side of the face, concealing the ears. The hands are laid symmetrically on the front of the hips on either side. Height 7 in. (fig. 2).

2. Head and part of bust of a similar, but somewhat less stiffly-executed, figure. The hair, which falls in separate locks about the shoulders, is somewhat less wig-like, and allows the ears to be seen. On the head is poised a circular stephanos, adorned with three flat disks. The manner in which this head-dress is worn, as well as the appearance of the central disk, recalls at once the appearance of the crown of Isis on some Egyptian figures. Height 2·6 in. (fig. 5).

3. Lower part of a bust of a figure resembling the last. The breasts are clearly indicated. The bust terminates in a short spike, which fitted into a hollow conical base, some specimens of which have been found. Height 4·7 in.

4. Bust of similar character to Nos. 2 and 3, the *stephanos*, however, without disks, and covering the head in a manner frequent in archaic Greek figures. Height 4'7 in.

5. Female figure standing on low square base. The body is rude and of square Egyptian cut. The arms, however, are not symmetrically arranged, the left elbow protruding. The hair is bound up over the ears, and crowned with a low *stephanos*, or perhaps a *stephanê*. Height 5'2 in.

6. Female figure much resembling last. On the head, however, was a *petasos* with a knob in the middle, and traces of red colour on a white ground. It is now detached from the figure. Height 5'4 in.

7. Beardless male figure standing on small flat base; the head covered with a high-peaked cap, much resembling some worn by Horus (*Harpachrat*) on Egyptian monuments. His hair falls in two thick locks on his shoulders. The right arm is laid against the side, but the left elbow projects as in No. 5. The whole is in a very rude style. Height 5'1 in. (fig. 4).

8. Beardless male figure standing on flat square base, much more elaborately executed than No. 6. The head is covered behind by a broad band, which falls down behind the shoulders. The hair, which is more carefully treated, falls down in symmetrical curls, two on either side, over the shoulders and breasts. The eyes are minutely defined, and the knee-caps marked out in a peculiar lozenge-like manner. The arms are laid symmetrically on either side. The legs are disproportionately short; the pectoral development abnormal. Height 5'7 in. (fig. 3).

9. Beardless male figure, more vaguely rendered than No. 7. The arms are at the side, but the left arm and the left leg are slightly advanced. The head is smaller, and the details of the hair, &c., are not clear. Height 5'5 in.

10. Bearded male figure, the body consisting simply of a rounded mass, tapering somewhat towards the feet. The left arm laid at the side, the right bent upwards across the breast. On either side of the head are seen two protuberances, evidently representing horns. The figure may therefore be an archaic image of the horned *Dionysos Sabazios*, whose head appears on the Tarentine antefixes. Height 8'9 in.

VOTIVE TERRA-COTTAS FROM SANCTUARY OF PERSEPHONÊ.

From other parts of the same deposit but not forming part of the same individual find to which the scarabs and quasi-Egyptian figures belong, occur a great variety of archaic female representations which lead us on from the earliest relics to the fully developed effigies of the Chthonic goddess.

1. Archaic female head, the hair—which is rendered almost invisible by the limestone incrustations—falling symmetrically about the shoulders and confined above by low stephanos over which again is apparently a veil. Relief. Height 7 in.

2. Archaic female head of somewhat later style. The hair is bound up behind and over the front is a high stephanê or stephanos. Relief. Height 5·4 in.

3. Smaller head of the same character. The hair, cheeks and lips have been coloured red. The eyebrows, iris and eyelashes are marked out with black. There are traces of ornaments painted in a dark colour on the stephanos. Height 3·7 in.

4. Similar head. A dark band runs round the centre of the stephanos, and immediately below it a band of red; the hair is coloured black, the lips and cheeks red, and a red band runs round the neck. The rest of the face and neck was coloured white. Height 2·8 in.

5. Archaic female bust the hair of which falls in symmetrical curls about the shoulders. The bosom is apparently covered with a chitôn above which the peplos is drawn transversally. (Solid mass, not hollow behind.) Height 4·2 in.

6. Upper part of archaic figure the head of which much resembles last; the upper part of the head however is draped by a band or hood of a greenish blue colour. A peplos with a red border falls in graceful folds about the body and under the neck is seen the upper edge of a chitôn coloured bluish green. The hair is coloured red. The left arm of the figure hangs down at the side, the right hand is raised to the breast and holds a red bud. This figure presents a curious resemblance to one of those recently discovered in the Akropolis at Athens. Height 7 in.

7. Upper part of Archaic female figure, the hair arranged as

before, seated on a canopied throne which covers her head and shoulders. She wears a long chitôn with circular brooches or other ornaments on either shoulder, and her arms are arranged symmetrically on her knees. Height 6·3 in.

8. Seated female figure in archaic style on a square-topped throne. Her head is crowned with a high stephanos or kalathos and her hair falls in straight locks on either shoulder. The arms are laid symmetrically on either side of the figure. Height 9·6 in.

9. Female figure of fourth-century style represented naked in a seated attitude; the throne however which was separate from the figure and possibly of different material, is not preserved. On the head is a high stephanos with palmetto ornaments in relief resembling that of Hêra Antheia and Hêra Lakinia on coins of Argos and Krotôn. On either shoulder is a large rosette ornament resembling the rosettes on early gold-work. Height 5·3 in.

10. Standing figure of goddess in archaic style clad in close-fitting talaric chitôn and a diplois reaching to the knees, and with long mantle over the arms and shoulders. She raises her right hand in front of her and holds in her left a pomegranate. The figure has lost its head and stands on a base rounded in front. Relief. Height 9·3 in.

11. Standing figure of Persephonê in talaric chitôn and with *peplos* falling over her arms and shoulders. Her hair expands luxuriantly from her brows and falls behind her neck in flowing tresses. On her head is a high stephanos or kalathos without ornament; on her left arm she holds a long kalathos of remarkable shape filled with pomegranates and perhaps a cornspike. In her right hand she holds the cross-torch the X-like ends of which appear above her shoulder. Relief. Height 11·5 in.

12. Head of similar figure, the face and hair painted bright red, the stephanos bluish green.

13. Full-facing head and part of bust of Persephonê in her matronly aspect as identified with Gâia. The face is of noble expression, and the hair which flows away from the brow and temple in luxuriant curls, although in the rich Magna-Græcian style, is not, as in some later examples, of over-elaborate detail. Across the upper part of the forehead is a narrow band probably a part of the sphendonê, and above the hair is a fragment of the

stephanos. This is to my knowledge the most beautiful head that has as yet been found in the sanctuary. From its simplicity of style it may be safely attributed to the early part of the fourth century B.C. The arrangement of the hair indeed is strikingly similar to the head attributed to Hêra and said to have come from the West pediment of the Parthenon, described and illustrated in the *Kunstblatt* (1824, No. 64). Height 11·6 in. (Pl. LXIII.)

14. Lower part of smaller head of Persephonê in the same fine style. Height 3·4 in.

15. Head of Persephonê full-face, crowned with stephanos as No. 10 but in a somewhat later style, the expression softer and the hair of more elaborate development. The coiffure in the present example varies from the other in showing a knotted fillet immediately under the front of the stephanos. Relief. Height 7 in.

16. Head of Persephonê somewhat resembling the last but the hair in flowing tresses rather than ringlets. Height 6·2 in.

17. Head of Persephonê with hair in a style transitional between Nos. 12 and 13. In her ears are amphora-shaped earrings. Height 8 in.

18. Smaller head of same in a flowing style of hair wearing an inconspicuous stephanê, and globular earrings. Height 3·3 in.

19. Female head with flowing hair and large earrings within an over-arching hood perhaps a part of peplos. Solid. Height 2·8 in.

20. Veiled head slightly turned to left, wearing looped earrings. Suggestive of the head of Philistis, Queen of Hiero II., on Syracusan coins, where she is represented under the aspect of Persephonê.

21. Female head wearing a broad band above the forehead, probably part of the sphendonê. Over this on either side the hair combed back from the temples in a row of parallel tresses.

22. Standing headless figure of Persephonê closely draped in long mantle or peplos above talaric chitôn. The general arrangement of dress and attitude of the figure closely recalls the statue of Persephonê, with a modius on her head and holding a pomegranate flower, found by Professor Newton in the sanctuary of

Démêtêr, Persephonê and Pluto Epimachos at Knidos (Newton, *Halicarnassus*, &c., Pl. LVII. and p. 377). It is almost identical with the terra-cotta figures of the goddess found in the same sanctuary. (*Op. cit.* Pl. LIX.) Professor Newton adds with regard to the statue that the type is that to which Gerhard has given the name Aphroditê Persephonê. (Gerhard, *Venere e Proserpina*, Fiesole 1826.) Height 4·8 in.

23. Upper part of figure of Persephonê wearing kalathos, from above which a peplos or perhaps a veil falls down her back. She wears globular earrings and her hair falls in long tresses about her neck. Height 9 in.

TERRA-COTTA OBJECTS FROM ONE OR OTHER OF THE TARENTINE SANCTUARIES.

1. Head of a young male figure with traces of beard: the upper part of the head is smooth and unfinished presenting the appearance of having been originally covered with a crown or helmet in a separate piece.

2. Youthful male head with long flowing locks above which are traces of a broad fillet. The face has a faun-like expression but the character of the hair points rather to Apollo.

3. Head of Aphroditê wearing stephanê and globular earrings.

TERRA-COTTAS FROM THE TARENTINE TOMBS.

We know from Polybios that it was the custom amongst the Tarentines—unlike the generality of the Greeks in later times, but in this respect following the precedent of their Spartan mother-city—to bury their dead within the walls, and thus to comply with the warning of an oracle that bade them ‘dwell with the majority.’¹ As a matter of fact sepulchres of Greek and Graeco-Roman date have been found in various parts of the ancient city, but they are found in the greatest abundance in the eastern region which Polybios tells us was full of them, and in particular they cover the eminence of Pizzone which answers to that part of the ancient burial ground to which the Tarentine

¹ Polyb. Lib. viii. c. 30. Φασὶ γὰρ καὶ λώϊον ἔσσεσθαι σφισι ποιουμένοις τὴν χρῆσαι τὸν θεὸν τοῖς Ταραντίνοις “ἄμεινον οἴκησιν μετὰ τῶν πλείονων.”

conspirators ascended to watch for Hannibal's signal from the Hyacinthian mound.¹ In this region, especially on the property of Signor Diego Colucci, who courteously invited me to participate in some of his excavations, many of the most interesting tombs containing rich spoil in the way of vases and terra-cottas have been opened of recent years. The largest are underground chambers approached by descending flights of steps and containing funeral couches of stone on which the remains rested. A plan of one of these called 'Tesoro' is given by Signor Viola in the *Memorie dei Lincei*;² another may be seen on the Fondo Colucci. Both of these contained two funeral couches, and at the foot of the steps before the entrance were shallow wells apparently for drainage. There are other *hypogæa* of simpler form, but the great bulk of the graves are simple cists about three feet below the surface and covered with slabs of the native Carparo stone. The graves that I saw opened were of this simpler form and contained nothing but unimportant vases. From the tombs on his property alone, however, Signor Colucci has collected a considerable museum containing vases and terra-cottas of the greatest beauty, many of which are described in the *Memorie* referred to. Amongst the vases occurs a very remarkable and ornate variety, in form resembling Nolan amphoras without handles, adorned with floreated lids and raised friezes running round their sides representing a variety of figures principally *amorini*, engaged in a lyric contest.³ A fragment of this style of ceramic work will be described amongst the terra-cottas. Besides imported Athenian vases there are many in that later and florid style generally known as Apulian, but to which the name of Tarentine could probably be given with greater fitness. I am able to exhibit a Lekythos of this Tarentine work characterized by simplicity of design and purity of outline, though the subject, the androgynous Eros, is thoroughly South Italian.

The sepulchral terra-cottas that I was able to obtain belong, as already stated, to two classes, those namely that are found

¹ Polyb. *loc. cit.* The Tarentine leaders Niko and Tragiskos took their stand at the tomb of Pythionikos.

² Vol. ix. (1881) T. III.

³ See *Memorie, &c. op. cit.* p. 536 ;

and cf. Helbig *loc. cit.* Specimens of the same kind of vase but of a less elaborate style may be seen amongst those from Bolsena in the British Museum.

within the tombs and those that formed a part of their exterior ornament. To this latter class belong the antefixes some of which have been described in a previous communication to this Society from the pen of Mr. J. R. Anderson, and four representing heads of Medusa, a beardless Pan, a youthful head of Héraklès, and a horned head of Dionysos Sabazios have been reproduced in Plate XXXII.

To these I may add the following :

1. Head of Io, with rich flowing locks, pointed earrings and necklace, but with bovine ears and the cow's horns sprouting from her forehead. Height 9·5 in.

2. Male head in Petasos with flowing locks above the forehead and on either side of the face. Perhaps Hermès, but if so, a remarkable type. Height 7·2 in.

3. Head of Medusa of somewhat softened archaic aspect. A single snake writhes down beneath the ear on either side. Height 7·9 inches.

SEPULCHRAL FRIEZES AND SLABS.

1. Part of terra-cotta frieze of a tomb with relief representing two winged youthful figures, one of either sex, flying or rather floating through the air above the sea-waves, indicated in the usual conventional manner. The female figure to the left is clad in a long transparent chitôn which reveals all the contours of her body. She looks towards the spectator, raising her robe with her right hand and laying her left on the thigh of her male companion. The male genius is nude and rests his right arm on the neck and shoulders of the other. His head is turned to the spectator's right, his long hair floating behind him, and he raises his left arm as if to greet another figure, one hand alone of which is visible on the extreme right of the tablet. The whole design is extremely graceful. A fragment of a cornice is visible which ran along the top of the tablet. Height 9·2 in. Breadth 6·3 in. (Pl. LXIII.)

2. Part of another similar sepulchral frieze with a cornice running along the top border, containing a representation of a female figure clad in talaric chitôn and peplos seated at the head of a couch. The head and legs of the figure are seen in

profile, and she raises her left hand to lay hold of the peplos which covers her head, though whether in the act of veiling or unveiling is not clear. To the right of the couch is seen the hand of another figure holding forth a small winged genius who extends a fillet towards the seated female. Height 7·5 in. Greatest breadth 9 in.

3. Part of sepulchral frieze the frame of which consists of two fluted Ionic columns resting on two steps and supporting an entablature above. Under the arch thus formed is seen a head and bust in high relief, apparently of Persephonê with her hair arranged as in some of the votive terra-cottas of fourth century date from the Temenos of Persephonê, wearing long pointed earrings and with a veil descending from the back of her head, and a chitôn covering her well-developed bosom. On either side of her are two naked *amorini*, that to the right holding a wreath. Height 9·2 in. Breadth 8·3 in.

4. Terra-cotta fragment of sepulchral slab or *Anathéma* representing a heroized deceased person naked and recumbent on the funeral couch, at the foot of which stands a boy *ænochoos*, also nude, holding *ænochoê* and wine-cup.

TERRA-COTTA OBJECTS FROM INTERIOR OF TOMBS.

1. Fragment of vase in the style of those described as in the possession of Signor Colucci. On the surface of the vase are laid in high relief terra-cotta groups representing small winged genii or Cupids engaged in a contest. The figures show traces of gilding on a white ground.

2. Small model of a boat. The prow terminates in two beaks and above it is seen the end of a small *στόλος*, the rest of which has been broken off. The stern curves back into an elegant *ἄφλαστρον*, the extremity of which forks into two parts the upper of which is wanting. At prow and stern respectively, in the outer sides of the boat, are fixed two pairs of projecting tholes or *σκαλμοί* to which the oars and *πηδάλια* were attached by leathern thongs, as still in the Levant. The keel is well marked and on the sides of the vessel are two coloured bands. The upper of these which follows the edge from the topmost beak of the prow to the curving end of the stern is painted a

bright red. The other band, a little below the first and twice as broad, is of a dark brown with transversal stripes of red alternating apparently with white and blue. The tholes are painted red, and on the lower part of the stern on either side appears a large eye, the iris and outline of which are of a reddish brown. The rest of the boat seems to have been painted white and white paint underlies the other colours. A larger but coarser model of a vessel was found by Signor Biliotti in a Rhodian tomb, and there is evidence that in this, as in so many other respects, Egyptian example had not been lost on the Phœnicians. (Pl. LXIII.)

I am not aware of any other instances of similar discoveries in purely Greek tombs, and in such an exceptional deposit should prefer to discover an after-thought of artistic sentiment, and to trace a delicate allusion to the sea-faring life of the departed rather than an actual representation of the infernal ferry-boat. Regarded in this light, the model of this small vessel has for us a special interest as a living record of that side of the Tarentine maritime industry which was connected with the land-locked inner sea. The epigrams—so full of local touches—of the Tarentine poet Leonidas contain more than one allusion to the small craft in which the native fishermen, in ancient times as now, plied the waters of the *Mar Piccolo*, the chief enemy with which they had to contend being the sudden Northern gales, such as those which only four years since wrought such havoc amongst the fishing-boats. The small skiff before us with its four *σκαλμοί*, all told, for oars and rudders, may recall Leonidas' epitaph on the old fisherman Thêris¹:

‘ οὐχὶ πολυσκάλμου πλώτορα ναυτιλῆς,’

whose tomb we are told was reared not by children or by wife but by the guild of fishermen (*ἰχθυβόλων θίσιος*) to which he belonged. In another epigram the native poet makes one of the small Tarentine craft speak in its own name.² “They call me ‘the little one’” (*τὴν μικρὴν*), she says, “and I do not deny it. My hull is small, but Fortune decides, and not dimensions.” The concluding couplet, indeed, might well have been taken as

¹ Leonidæ Tarentini *Carmina*, xci.

² *Op. cit.* c. xlviii.

the motto of the toy-craft before us: sole survivor of all the Tarentine fleets!

‘ἔστω πηδαλίοις ἐτέρῃ πλέον· ἄλλο γὰρ ἄλλη
θάρσος· ἐγὼ δ’ εἶην δαίμοσι σωζομένη.’

Length 10·5 in. Breadth in middle 2·6 in. Height in middle 2·4 in.

To this, as also a marine subject from a Tarentine tomb, I may add the following, at present in the Museo Colucci:

A dolphin, of a pink colour on a white ground, represented as if in the act of leaping over the waves (two examples).

3. Standing figure of Aphroditê of a fine period and beautifully executed, the upper part of the body slightly turned and bending to her right, her right leg being at the same time drawn up. The head and both arms as also the left foot are wanting, but the attitude is that of Aphroditê bending down to fit on her sandal. This figure closely resembles a type of Aphroditê of which more than one example occurs amongst the terra-cottas found on Anatolian sites (cf. Froehner, *Terres cuites d'Asie Mineure*, p. 22, and pl. 7). The same design is found on a bronze coin of Aphrodisias in Caria and there can be little doubt that as Froehner has pointed out, its origin is to be sought in the Aphroditê *monoknênos* of Apelles referred to by Petronius. There are in the British Museum two bronze figurines of Venus representing a variation of the present design in which the weight of the body is thrown on the left leg, and the right leg is bent across it to bring the sandal within reach of the hand. Height 7·4 in. (Pl. LXIV.)

4. Female figure, perhaps of Aphroditê, represented in a sitting attitude, naked, and with her head surmounted by a curious peaked coiffure. Her arms are symmetrically arranged against her side, her hands resting on her lap. Her legs are equally symmetrical in their position. The body is hollow, and the throne on which she was originally seated and which was made in a separate piece is now wanting. Height 5·1 in.

5. Eros as a child, his right hand raised and his face, the mirthful features of which are exquisitely rendered, turned to the left and looking up as if engaged in a game of ball. A small cloak or *chlamys*, originally of a vermillion colour, hangs

over his left shoulder and his whole form is instinct with airy motion. In the same grave was found a companion figure, 5 (*b*), almost identical, but with the chlamys over the right shoulder. Both figures are little masterpieces of the koroplastic art, and may vie with the most beautiful of those from Tanagra. Height 4 in. (Pl. LXIV.)

6. Pothos as a winged child-like genius leaning on an inverted torch which he thus extinguishes. His head is crowned with a wreath of flowers, and a chlamys fastened by a circular fibula to his left shoulder hangs down over the torch. Traces of blue colour are visible on the wings and mantle. Height 3·2 in.

7. Eros or winged Bacchic genius of singularly plump proportions, his head crowned with ivy leaves and berries above which is a kind of Phrygian cap. He is naked except for a sash round his loins tied in a kind of bow in front. This figurine is remarkable for the extraordinary preservation of the original colouring. The wings are of dark blue, rose and azure. The body is coloured pink, the sash crimson and dark blue, the cap crimson. The obese type of the figure corresponds to a mode in Tarentine art which invades the coinage about the date of Alexander the Molossian's expedition (333 B.C.), and is traceable on it till shortly before that of Pyrrhos (B.C. 280), when it gives way to a reaction in favour of more attenuated proportions. During the prevalence of this mode we see Taras on his dolphin represented under the same 'fat boy' aspect as the present figurine. Height 7·1 in.

8. Naked child-like genius crowned with wreath of vine-leaves, resting his weight on his left leg and right arm which leans on a cippus. His left arm is partly concealed by the chlamys which hangs down his back. Traces of red colour are visible on the body and cloak. Height 3·6 in.

9. A little negro slave-boy coiled up fast asleep under an amphora against which he huddles as if for shelter from the *Bora*. The characteristic features of the race are admirably rendered, including the woolly hair, protuberant forehead, thick lips and indescribable nigger grin. The back-bone, ribs and muscles of the half-starved little form are indicated with anatomic precision, and even the dolichocephalic skull and disproportionately long arms of the Negroid type are faithfully reproduced. This surprising accuracy of detail, however, is not

won at the expense of the general effect of the figure, which for life-like realism and true pathos is probably without a rival amongst Greek terra-cottas. A similar motive occurs in an *askos* of black glazed ware in the British Museum. A figure of a negro in an almost identical attitude, carved in a soft black stone spotted with green, and said to have been found at Alexandria, was recently sold in Paris. In this case, however, the nigger child is represented crying bitterly, with wide-open mouth and contorted face—the very counterpart to the humorous repose of the Tarentine figure. Height 2·5 in. (Pl. LXIV.)

10. Girl's head with a singularly sweet expression, her hair bound up in a high cone. (Pl. LXIV.)

11. Girl's head with hair evenly combed back to the back of the head.

12. Female head, crowned with a fillet, bowed wearily to the left.

13. Female head in Phrygian cap; her hair, apparently in small curls, confined in a net and standing out on either side of the face. The hair has been coloured brownish red, the face pink on a white ground.

14. Head of a girl with a knotted band confining her hair in front and a round plait behind. The hair has been coloured brownish red.

15. Female head crowned with ivy leaves and berries in the style of terra-cottas associated with late 'Apulian' vases in the tombs at Canosa. The hair is coloured brownish red; the leaves green.

16. Standing female figure robed in peplos closely wound round her and covering her arms, beneath which is a talaric chitôn. Her head is wreathed with vine leaves and her hair coiled in a conical shape, her right arm is folded across her bosom under the peplos, and in her left hand she holds a round disk which may represent a tympanum. The figure strikingly resembles a familiar type from Tanagra. Height 7·9 in.

17. Upper part of standing figure of a girl, her head turned slightly to the left, wearing a chitôn and peplos which falls over her left shoulder and passes under her right arm which is left bare. Height 4·3 inches.

18. Upper part of standing figure of a girl: her head which

is crowned with a kind of wreath turned to the left: she is wearing earrings and her hair falls about her neck in long tresses. She wears a loose chitôn confined under the breast. Height 4·6 in.

19. Upper part of standing figure of a girl, her whole form closely wrapped round by a peplos which also veils her head. Her right arm is drawn up towards her neck under the mantle. This design closely resembles many from Tanagra, &c. Height 4·1 in.

In addition to these there occurs a whole series of figurines of somewhat rougher execution, some from the tombs and some from other localities, amongst which animals and comic or grotesque subjects are of frequent occurrence. It is possible that some of these burlesque subjects may connect themselves with the Tarentine *φλύακες*, or farces based on tragic subjects introduced by the native comic poet Rhyinthôn. Of this somewhat miscellaneous class of objects I am able to describe the following specimens, and it is worthy of remark that several allied subjects occur in pairs or groups, as Nos. 5, 6, 7, the two varieties of No. 9, and Nos. 10 and 11.

1. Small grotesque figure like an owl with the head of an ape. Height 3·3 in.

2. Female pygmy drawing up a bucket. Height 3·2 in.

3. Youthful male head with slightly up-turned nose and a very humorous expression. Height 2·8 in.

4. Grotesque head with the hair bound up in a top-knot. Height 1·9 in.

5. Burlesque mask of a Satyr with a modius on his head. Height 2·9 in.

6. Disproportionately fat boy squatted and resting on his left arm, while a puppy with a curly tail looks up at him on his right side. Height 3·2 in.

7. Figure of the same character and attitude but without the dog. Height 3·1 in.

8. Male infant reclining apparently asleep on the back of a large dog with a curly and bushy tail. Height 4 in.

9. Two naked boys wrestling, two varieties. Height 3·5 in.

10. Standing figure of a girl with her peplos wrapped round her, carrying on her left shoulder a male child and in her left hand a tympanum. Height 5·1 in.

11. What appears to be the sequel to No. 10. A large serpent has coiled round the female figure who stands in a Laocoon-like attitude, apparently trying to tear away the serpent's head which has fastened on her own. To the left the male infant is seen above the tympanum. Height 3·8 in.

12. Pard seated to right and looking towards the spectator. Height 4·1 in.

13. Pard couchant to right, the head however erect and facing the spectator. Height 2·3 in.

TERRA-COTTA OBJECTS OF MISCELLANEOUS PROVENANCE. IMPRESSIONS OF GEMS, &c.

1. Youthful figure of Dionysos, a wreath round his head and his mantle falling about his knees, but otherwise nude, standing full-face, holding in his left hand a thyrsos and his right elbow resting on a column. In his right hand he holds a bunch of grapes at which a pard below looks up. Height of the impression 1 in. Breadth ·8 in.

2. Similar figure with uncertain surroundings. Height of impression 1·1 in. Breadth ·8 in.

3. Nikê standing to right and resting her left foot on an indeterminate object. In one hand she holds out a fillet or *lemniskos* and in the other a palm-branch. Height of impression ·9 in. Breadth ·7 in.

4. Helmeted female figure in the same attitude writing on shield. Height of impression ·7 in. Breadth ·5 in.

5. Female figure draped from the waist downwards standing left and with her left elbow leaning on a column. Her right arm hangs listlessly at her side. Height of impression ·8 in. Breadth ·3 in.

6. Wingless Eros naked in the attitude of an archer who has just shot an arrow. In the field are the letters A ? to left and ^M to right of figure. Circular impression, diam. ·6 in.

7. Eros winged and naked walking right and playing on lyre. Height of impression ·55 in. Breadth ·35 in.

8. Head of Hermes in petasos to right. Height of impression ·5 in. Breadth ·4 in.

9. Naked warrior seen from behind thrusting with spear and holding long pointed shield. Height of impression '6 in. Breadth '3 in.

10. Oval piece of terra-cotta stamped on both sides after the manner of a coin. On one side is the head of a bacchante with wreath of vineleaves, on the other the upper part of a facing figure of Victory winged and holding across her a trophy. Height '95 in. Breadth '8 in.

11. Triangular piece stamped on one side with a small oval gem representing Eros to right holding an indeterminate object, and on the other side in large letters in relief (ΥA) TAP in monogram evidently standing for the name of the city. Two examples. Height 1 in.

12. Small disk perhaps a tessera of admission for the theatre. On one side is a bench in relief stamped Γ , on the other NK in an incised monogram. Diameter 1 in.

TERRA-COTTA OBJECTS OF MISCELLANEOUS PROVENANCE. PERFORATED DISKS.

A great variety of flat disks, ranging in diameter from about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, perforated at top with two small holes and with legends or devices stamped on the field are discovered on the Tarentine site. This class of objects is well known and seems to be common to the whole Hellenic world from Sicily to Asia Minor. Some of a dumpy form were obtained by Dr. Schliemann on the site of Troy. As to the object however for which these perforated disks were made no theory that has yet been put forward will account for all the phenomena with which we are confronted. Professor Gardner indeed on the strength of the legend $\text{H}\text{H}\text{M}\text{I}\Omega\Delta\text{E}\Lambda\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$ standing for $\text{H}\text{H}\text{M}\text{I}\Omega\text{B}\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$ has advocated the view that the disks with this inscription or its abbreviated form were used "to weigh out half an obol's worth of some commodity." But this could hardly have been the object of the bulk of these disks or otherwise we should expect to see the price more generally marked, and would surely find disks of greater weight. We should also expect a greater analogy with the known varieties of Greek metal weights which are usually square in form.

Without attempting on the present occasion to solve the

enigma I may call attention to a few of the considerations which have to be dealt with before arriving at a definite conclusion.

1. Some Knidian examples in the British Museum have only one perforation. Two holes are therefore not essential to the utility of the disks.

2. Amongst thousands of these disks discovered at Taranto, I am assured by Signor Viola that none show such traces of friction about the holes as would warrant the view that they were suspended. There is moreover a type of which I am able to exhibit several varieties with a flattened base like an antefix and therefore capable of standing upright.

3. That some legends, *e.g.* TAKTO probably for TAKTON or TAKTOΣ, seem to have reference to an amount of some article prescribed by the State.¹ TPITΩ again for TPITΩΣ might also lead us to connect these disks with public distributions.

4. The character of the symbols and devices is generally religious in its associations and in some cases specially connected with the state patrons of Tarentum, *e.g.* the dolphin of Poseidôn, leaping over the waves as on the Tarentine coins but without Taras, the figures of Hêraklês and of an armed horseman, perhaps one of the Dioskuri, amongst the impressions of signets.

5. There are however varieties which require a different explanation, *e.g.* those representing on one side the busts of two lovers embracing and on the other an infant holding up a puppy by the tail; and that containing a representation of a human eye, which seems to partake of the nature of an amulet.

TARENTINE PERFORATED DISKS.

Besides those reading FHMIΩ, &c. described by Prof. Gardner, I am able to enumerate the following varieties from this site:—

1. TAKTO across the centre of the field in raised letters contained in impressed oblong. Diameter 3 in.

2. ΞΥΜ in smaller impressed oblong. Diameter 2·6 in.

3. TPITΩ in small letters in impressed oval. Diameter 2·9 in.

4. ΠΡΟ in impressed quadrangle. Diameter 2·6 in.

5. ΝΙ in large impressed letters. Diameter 2·7 in.

¹ Cf. the τακτός σίτος to be doled out troops blockaded in Sphaktêria, Thuc. during the truce to the Lacedæmonian iv. 16.

6. Ω in impressed semicircle. Diameter 2·7 in.

7. Svastika or filfot in centre of the field. Diameter 2·7 in.

8. Impression of engraved gem representing Hêraklês standing facing; his left arm resting on club, his right holding bow and lion's skin, a quiver behind his left shoulder. Diameter 2·6 in.

9. Impression of gem set in ring representing Hêraklês to right raising his club to strike the Hydra which coils up to the left from between his legs. The edges of this disk rounded. Diameter 2·0 in.

10. Impression of somewhat oblong gem with warrior on horseback thrusting forward with lance and galloping, &c. Diameter 2·7 in.

11. Impression of oval gem showing youthful male figure, nude, leaning on cippus and holding out an indeterminate object. Diameter 2·7 in.

12. Impression of oval gem set in ring. Female figure, perhaps Venus, her robe falling about her waist, her left arm resting apparently on a shield. Diameter 2·8 in.

13. Lobster in high relief.¹ Diameter 3·1 in.

14. Nymph, or perhaps Aphroditê, naked to her waist seated sideways on a swan—a design much resembling that on some of the coins of Kamarina—in high relief. Diameter 2·8 in.

15. Small disk with human eye in relief. Diameter 1·8 in.

16. Olive-spray of conventional character in impressed circle. Diameter 3·4 in.

17. Rosette ornament impressed. Diameter 3·3 in.

18. Palmetto in relief. This specimen is flat at the bottom and of antefix-like shape. Height 2·5 in.

19. Dolphin leaping over sea waves conventionally indicated below as on Tarentine coins. Of antefix-like shape. Height 2·3 in.

20. Busts of two youthful figures of either sex embracing. On some examples the female figure wears a kind of *stephanê*. On the other side a male child in an attitude like that of the infant Hêraklês strangling the serpents. In this case however the figure holds up a small animal apparently a puppy by the tail. Of antefix-like shape. Height 2·8 in.

21. Infant Eros, winged, holding in one hand what is apparently a ball, and in the other a dove by the wings. Of antefix-like shape. Height 2·5 in.

TERRA-COTTA OBJECTS OF MISCELLANEOUS OR UNCERTAIN
PROVENANCE.

MOULDS FOR FIGURINES AND VOTIVE RELIEFS.

1. Mould for upper part of two female figures side by side. Each has on her head a high stephanos or kalathos from which the peplos falls. Probably Dêmêtêr and Persephonê are here represented. Height 4·2 in.

2. Mould for female head. Height 2 in.

3. Mould representing Eros or a winged genius bending over an amphora. A figurine of this type occurs amongst those from Cyrênaica. Height 4 in.

MOULDS FOR SACRED CAKES.

1. Large disk-like mould having in the centre a Gorgon's head within a circular border of palmetto leaves and floral ornaments. On the left side of the disk is part of a projecting handle. Diameter 8·2 in.

2. Smaller circular disk (Fig. 6), 5 in. in diameter, with projecting handle perforated as for suspension. The field of the disk is divided into four compartments by four attributes of deities—the thunderbolt of Zeus, the trident of Poseidôn, the cross-torch of Persephonê, and the club of Héraklês. In the first of these are a lyre, the symbol of Apollo, a caduceus for Hermês, and an amphora for one of the Dioskuri, a second amphora representing the other divine champion appears opposite to it in the fourth compartment. In the second compartment appear a hand with open palm, a dove, an object perhaps representing a lover's knot, a curious symbol consisting of a cross-piece supported by two legs and terminating in a horn-like curve at either end—in its general form it resembles an ancient fire-dog, such as that found amongst the treasure of Palestrina, but the transverse bar is shorter and thicker. In the angle at the centre of this segment is apparently a large grain of corn.

In the third compartment are seen a slightly curved object terminating in a pointed piece which I take to be a somewhat elongated representation of a plough-share, a tunny fish, a corn-spike, and a bunch of grapes. In the fourth division there follow a second amphora, a phallic representation, and apparently, the head of a nymph, considerably blurred.

Round the edge of the disk and representing the circle of the wheel, the four spokes of which are indicated by the four



FIG. 6.

symbols of Zeus, Poseidôn, Persephonê and Hêraklês, occurs the following series of figures:

a. One large and three smaller distaffs wound round with wool, like those which may be seen in the hands respectively of the personified Dêmos and the Eponymic hero of Tarentum on coins of that city.

b. Three flat disks partially superimposed: the same device being repeated two places on. From the occurrence of a similar

device on a small circular disk found on this site associated with an anvil, tongs, and two globular pieces which probably represent lumps of metal, it seems probable that these flat circular disks represent coins. A fragment was broken off from the small relief referred to which probably contained a figure of a hammer.

c. An oval boss from which radiate nine tapering projections. The whole presents the appearance of some animal organism such as a large spider or a star-fish. From the occurrence of the rayed solar disk on the Naples mould and from the parallel supplied by the crescent moon in the next compartment it is nevertheless probable that the device must be regarded as the stellar symbol of the Sun. Its elongated form is however remarkable, and the occurrence of a Tarantula amongst Tarentine charms would supply a fertile theme for speculation.

d. A pruning hook.

e. An oblong figure pitted in regular lines with square cavities. At one corner is a globular object, either forming a part of the oblong figure or in contiguity with it.

f. A crescent.

g. A ladder.

h. Apparently a cicala.

i. Blacksmiths' tongs.

k. A raised disk with a cross in relief across its field, perhaps a consecrated cake.

3. Part of a similar mould in form of a flat disk, covered with various symbols. In the centre of the disk is a smaller disk with a cross impressed on it like the four spokes of a wheel. Immediately above and below this are a phallic symbol and a lyre. To the right are successively a caduceus, Hêraklês' club, a trident and a thunderbolt; to the left a second thunderbolt, the cross-torch of Persephonê, the top of a crescent, or perhaps a bow, and a ladder. Above this again is another row with a bird, apparently a dove, in the centre, and, one of each on either side, two amphorae and two sheep. Above this row appear three distaffs wound round with wool, and a crescent. Diameter of disk, approximately 6 in.

Two disks belonging to the same class as No. 3, though differing somewhat in their details have been described by

Otto Jahn¹ and Minervini.² The first was from a sketch of an original in the possession of Sir W. Temple at Naples, the other is described as having passed from the Mongelli collection to the Museo Borbonico. It is thus evident that both were obtained from Southern Italy, and the resemblance which they bear to these from the site of Tarentum is so strong that in default of other indications we may refer them to the same city. Jahn regarded them as amulets in one form or another. Minervini supposed them to have been suspended as *ex votos* in the temples.³

The Gorgon's head on the larger of the three Tarentine disks described has certainly *apotropaic* associations, and recalls the frequent appearance of Medusa's heads of various styles and periods amongst the antefixes of the Tarentine tombs. The devices on the smaller disks are of a more complex character. Some have certainly the character of amulets, though many of the most typical forms, as for example the *fica* and the eye, are conspicuous by their absence. On the other hand, the prominence of symbols of the greater gods points to a less degraded form of superstition. The open hand, which occurs on No. 5 as well as on the example given by Jahn, connects itself rather with prayer in general than with the mere aversion of the evil eye with which the closed hand and protruding thumb is associated; in other words it is a talisman for procuring good influences rather than an amulet proper for turning away bad. Two raised hands with open palms are often found on Greek and Roman tombstones to enforce a special prayer to a god recorded in the inscription,⁴ and in the same connexion it may be useful to notice various Christian adaptations of this symbolic gesture, including the representations of a single open hand on the walls of mediæval churches and on the slabs of mediæval tombs.⁵ In the present case the raised hand with

¹ Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten. *Berichte der k. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*. VII. 1855 (p. 52, *seqq.* and Taf. V. p. 3).

² *Bullettino Archeologico Napolitano*, N.S., Anno V. (1857), p. 169.

³ In Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Art. AMULETUM,

a representation of the Neapolitan example first published by Minervini is given and the suggestion made.

⁴ Cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 53.

⁵ I have myself observed several instances of the open hand in such positions in the Byzantine parts of Europe.

the crescent moon above may suggest to us the homely prayers of a 'rustic Phydilê.' The ladder which occurs on all four examples of these disks is difficult to explain.¹ It occurs on Lucanian and Apulian vases associated with love and funeral scenes, and may be taken perhaps as a symbol of spiritual accessibility. In a low stage of sepulchral cult, as in parts of Russia at the present day, a miniature ladder is placed in the grave for the use of the departed spirit.

In the general character of the symbols upon these moulds it seems possible to detect a special applicability to the prevailing cults and local circumstances of Tarentum. Thus in No. 5 in the four principal symbols that form a cross on the face of the disk, we see the attribute of Zeus associated in a special way with those of Poseidôn, Persephonê and Hêrakilês, the special patrons along with the Dioskuri, whose symbols are also conspicuous, of the Tarentine Commonwealth. The character of some of the symbols, as the cross-torch and ladder, seems specifically South Italian. Many of the other devices again contain a distinct allusion to some of the chief local products and industries. Not to speak of those connected with metal-working such as the blacksmith's tongs, and with agriculture such as the bearded corn-spike that reminds us of the neighbouring Metapontine harvests, and the bunch of grapes suggestive of the sunny slopes of Aulon, we may see in the repeated representations of the distaffs wound round with wool precisely as it appears in the hands of the Eponymic Taras, and the sheep on No. 6, a direct reference to the long-haired flocks of the Galæsus, and the rich woollen fabric for which Tarentum was celebrated.

With regard to the purpose to which these moulds were applied, the mere fact that they are moulds and not reliefs sufficiently shows that they served some practical purpose. The handles with which they are provided are for their use as moulds, and not, as Minervini has suggested, for votive suspension. On the other hand, the fact that no reliefs have been discovered answering to these or similar moulds, leads to the conclusion that they were used to impress some perishable substance. It seems to me to be highly probable that they

¹ Terra-cotta hands occur amongst ancient sanctuaries, *e.g.* from Reate. the votive offerings found on the site of

served for stamping cakes in use on various religious occasions either for public or private cult.

The fourfold division and wheel-like arrangement of No. 2, and the smaller cross-marked disk or wheel occupying the centre of No. 3 seems further to convey a valuable indication that it was to this purpose that these moulds were applied. It is indeed a characteristic in a whole class of religious cakes that they are impressed with a wheel or cross, and in other cases divided into segments¹ as if to facilitate distribution. Without on this occasion going into the origin of this symbolical division which seems rather to connect itself with the worship of the ancestral fire than with any solar cult, it may be sufficient here to recall the fact that this feature appears as a whole class of cakes made use of at certain seasons by various members of the Aryan family, and which in their original form seem to have had a special connection with the propitiation of the spirits of the hearth. In a modified form indeed they are still familiar to us as 'hot-cross buns.' Considering the domestic application of many of the symbols on the smaller disks it seems probable that they were made use of in these cases for homely rites analogous to those to which for example the Slavonic 'wheel cakes' are still dedicated.² Nor will the comparison with existing primitive usages be thought far-fetched when it is remembered that the flat round cakes known as *κόλλυβα* to the Greeks are still in use throughout the South-Eastern Peninsula under various corruptions of the name for funeral wakes and the primitive communion feasts of the dead which still survive in those regions.³ In the modern Greek form *κόλυβα* these cakes are distributed to the faithful by the Orthodox

¹ The leaves found at Pompeii were of flat segmented form as are still the modern Turkish.

² The Christmas festivities on which 'wheel cakes' of this ceremonial kind are especially used, are connected with a variety of symbolical acts and offerings all having for their object the assurance of good crops, increase of cattle, domestic prosperity and especially the birth of male children during the ensuing year. An analogous object would account for the character

of many of the symbols on these Tarentine disks.

³ Cf. the old Slavonic *Kolivo*, also *Koljuvo*, Serbian *Koljivo*, Rouman *Colivă*. In the Slavonic Wakes however the *Kolivo* is rather cooked corn in a flat dish than a cake proper. Of the modern and mediaeval Greek form Ducange remarks '*κόλυβον, κόλυβα, frumentum coctum; in Ecclesiâ Græcianiâ Colybi benedici et distribui solerent primo Sabbato jejuniorum.*' For various primitive forms of the

priests on the first Saturdays of the Greek Lent and other fasts. The crosses and other emblems on the consecrated cakes of the Orthodox Church present an unmistakeable analogy, though under an adapted and Christian guise, to the moulds before us.

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‘wheel-cake’ (*Pogač* or *Kolač*) and other flat segmented cakes (*česnice*) with a central socket made use of in the Illyrian Peninsula for purposes connected with domestic cult I may refer to my articles ‘Christmas and Ancestor-Worship in the Black Mountain,’ *Macmillan’s Magazine*, Jan., Feb., and

March, 1881. Amongst the Russian Lapps I have seen moulds for flat cheeses of a similar character with a central cross or wheel and various surrounding ornaments. It is possible that some of the present moulds may have been used for cheeses, as well as cakes.

ANTIQUITIES FROM THE ISLAND OF LIPARA.

[PLATE LXII.]

THE two painted vases reproduced on Pl. LXII. are part of a collection of antiquities found in some twenty tombs which were excavated in 1879 in the island of Lipara, not far from the present town of that name.¹ The precise locality is known as the Contrada Diana and is the property of Signor Scolarici. A road leading to it is called the Via Diana, and this name seems to have originated in the ruins of three small shrines which popular opinion has attributed to that goddess. The presence of these shrines in close proximity to the tombs has led to the conviction that this particular spot was the ancient cemetery of Lipara.

The history of Lipara is briefly this. Known originally as the island Meligounis, but having no population, probably owing to its volcanic nature, it was first taken possession of by settlers from the adjoining coast of Italy, then under the legendary rule of Auson, and named after him Ausonia. The descendants of Auson continued to govern the newly-acquired island until about 580 B.C., when a colony of Rhodians and Knidians made its appearance. These colonists had started from their homes for Sicily, and had there with much disaster to themselves taken part in the war raging between the towns of Selinus and Egesta. Those of them who survived this war set sail round the north

¹ These antiquities are the property of Mr. James Stevenson, of Glasgow, and are at present lent by him for exhibition in the Corporation Galleries

of that city. I have to thank his kindness and liberality for the drawings here reproduced, and for memoranda of the excavations.

coast of Sicily and landed at Lipara, where they were received with welcome by the remnants of the original settlers, who were finding themselves unable to cope with the Tyrrhene pirates, then oppressing them grievously. Such is the version of Diodorus.¹ Pausanias,² however, gives a slightly different account, quoting from a Sicilian historian Antiochos, according to whom the colonists from Knidos—he does not include the Rhodians—settled first on the Sicilian promontory Pachynos, but after a time were driven thence by the Elymi and the Phoenicians. Thereupon they sailed for the Liparæ Islands, and either found them deserted, or expelled such inhabitants as there were. They founded the town of Lipara, and cultivated the adjacent islands of Hiera, Strongyle and Didymæ by crossing to them in boats as occasion required.

This new population was evidently skilled in the management of ships, as indeed would be expected if there were Rhodians among them; for the Rhodians throughout their history were renowned at sea. Once in possession of a fleet they would be in a position to retaliate on the Tyrrhene pirates. Pausanias³ records a remarkable instance of their success in this respect. Having been ordered by the oracle of Delphi to attack the Tyrrhenian fleet, but in so doing to employ the smallest number possible of ships, they set out with only five triremes. The Tyrrhenians seeing this and thinking it beneath their dignity to put a greater number of ships in battle contented themselves also with five triremes. These the Liparæans captured; but immediately the Tyrrhenians sent out another five. Again the Liparæans captured them, and this process was repeated till the Tyrrhenians had lost four squadrons, each of five ships. In commemoration of this extraordinary victory, and in acknowledgment of the advice of the oracle, the Liparæans sent to Delphi a group of twenty statues, one for each ship taken from the enemy. The date of this engagement is not given; but we may not be far wrong if we assume it to have been in the early part of the fifth century B.C., previous to the battle off Cumæ,

¹ Diodorus Sic. v. 9; cf. Cecil Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times*, p. 34.

² x. 11, 3, Pausanias is here speaking of the Knidian monuments at Delphi, and this circumstance, together with

the fact stated also by Diodorus that the leader of the Colony was a Knidian, may have led him to omit the Rhodian element in it. Cf. Thucyd. vi. 2.

³ x. 16, 4.

in which Hiero of Syracuse seems to have crushed the naval power of the Tyrrhenians in 474 B.C.

From this time, it is not likely that the Liparaeans maintained a fleet solely for defence. They would see how lucrative a trade was that of piracy, and may have been long engaged in it previous to 371 B.C., in which year they made an unsatisfactory prize. The Romans had just concluded successfully their long siege of Veii, and had determined on sending a memorial of it to Delphi, in the shape of a golden krater. The messengers bearing this gift were intercepted by pirates, and carried off to Lipara. Meantime the strategos of the island, Timasitheos, had heard of what had happened. He was able to rescue the messengers, and to send them on to Delphi with their golden vase. For this act Rome rewarded him with honours, and long after, when she had annexed the island, allowed his descendants immunity from taxes.¹ Possibly the trade of piracy was but a small part of the occupation of the ships of Lipara. These islands afforded convenient shelter for the Carthaginian fleets,² and it is not improbable that the Liparaean ships may have joined them willingly or unwillingly. When Rome took possession of Lipara she sent there a colony under the government of duumviri. The name of one of these duumviri, ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΚΩΝΕΥΚ, is preserved on a bronze coin of the island, with the usual device of a youthful head of Vulcan and of about the time of Augustus.³

Except in the year 1864 I have not been able to trace any excavations in this island.⁴ On that occasion the results were much the same as those with which we are now concerned, including bronze objects of the nature of armillae, strigils and fibulae, terracottas, lamps and fictile vases, among which one was remarkable for its subject—an old fish-dealer in the act of cutting up a fish on a table with the view of selling part of it to another old man who holds out a coin for it. Such a scene, if it were not that the fish-dealer was a favourite character on the Comic stage of the days of Aristophanes, might serve to illustrate a fragment which has been preserved from a lost drama of

¹ Diodorus Sic. xiv. 93 ; Livy v. 28. 110 ; *Bullet. dell' Inst. Arch.* 1862, p.

² Polybius i. 25, 4 ; Livy xxi. 49. 111 and *ibid.* 1868, p. 39.

³ *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1857, p. ⁴ *Bullet. dell' Inst. Arch.* 1864, p. 54.

Archippos, entitled *Ichthys*.¹ In any case it compares very well with one of the vases on our plate (LXII., also Fig. 1), with its incident also from the Comic stage. In general there is no class of vases more difficult to explain than those with comic representations. It may be that many of our difficulties would have been removed had the comic poets whom we now know only from mere fragments survived with the good fortune which has attended Aristophanes. Yet when we remember that there is perhaps no incident in any one of his plays that can be positively identified on a painted vase, we may doubt whether the vase-painters went



FIG. 1.

to these sources for their subjects, and whether they did not rather find them, so to speak, at the street-corners. On our vase we have a lady standing between two old men. Her beauty and dignity are conspicuous. The old men are astonished, and there appears to be nothing to account for their astonishment except her beauty and dignity. The scene might be a parody of Helena and the old men of Troy who admired her so much as not to wonder at the long war in such a cause. Or we might identify the group with some scene in the lost comedy of Alexis, entitled *Helena and her Suitors*, of which there

¹ A fish-dealer named Hermacos is described as : ὅς βιά δέρων ρίνας γαλεούς τε πωλεῖ καὶ τοὺς λάβρακας ἐντερεύων.

See *Fragmenta Poet. Comic.* p. 271 (Didot).

remain only a few words at the point where she speaks of her suitors with disdain. The reverse of this vase has the usual figures of Ephebi. The other vase reproduced on the same plate (also Fig. 2) is curious from its having only the design of a head drawn in profile and on a large scale. It is the head probably of a Satyr, and is not inappropriately inscribed **AKPATOS**, in letters which belong to the early part of the fourth century B.C. The head is drawn in outline, like the figures on Athenian lekythi, or in Etruscan wall-paintings, the space enclosed within the outline not being filled in with colour, but left in the same condition as the general field of the vase. On the reverse there



FIG. 2.

is no design. To judge from the ivy borders and the shape of this vase we may class it among the black ware with a fine bright glaze on which patterns and designs are painted generally in white and purple, and on which we occasionally meet, as here, with figures executed in a manner more adapted to fresco painting than to ceramic art.

The greater part of Mr. Stevenson's antiquities belong to the fourth and third centuries B.C. Some of them may even be later. There were found, for instance, three inscriptions incised on the black stone of the district and in very late Greek characters; each consists only of a name: (1) **ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΥ**,

(2) ΑΓΗΞΙΒΟΥΛΑ, (3) ΔΙΚΑΙΥΛΙΟΣ. On the other hand there is a red figure lekythos of the Sicilian type which is older than the fourth century, while again among the terracottas is a seated female figure holding a dove, which might have been brought from Rhodes in the early days of the colony, since it can hardly be later than the sixth century. It is all but identical with figures from Rhodes or from Sicily, which possibly in early times drew many of its articles of luxury from Rhodes, as it drew its colonists. To go farther back still, we have in Mr. Stevenson's collection a series of neolithic implements which bring us into contact with the original inhabitants—the descendants of Auson and Acolos. Whether these implements were found within the tombs is not stated, but as the cemetery must have remained in use for at least several centuries, to judge by the various dates of the objects already referred to, we could readily suppose it to have been entered upon even in primitive times. The tombs were sunk into the earth, lined with squared slabs of the black stone of the district, and covered with blocks of the same nature. It is to be hoped that further excavations may be made in this interesting island, with results no less satisfactory than those which have just been noticed.

A. S. MURRAY.

NUMISMATIC COMMENTARY ON PAUSANIAS.

II.

BOOKS III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII.

[PLATES LXV.—LXVIII.]

IN the present paper we continue the commentary begun in last year's *Journal*, and set forth the numismatic facts which run parallel to those books of Pausanias which deal with the remainder of Peloponnesus; Laconia, Messenia, Elis, Achaia, and Arcadia. Athens, Phocis, and Boeotia still remain for future treatment.

In spite of our efforts to be complete, we have already discovered a number of coins of Corinth and Argos and the neighbouring cities which had escaped us, and which present new types, or important varieties of the types which appear in our plates. This will necessitate the publication of a supplement to our first paper. While this is in preparation numismatists will be doing the greatest service if they will let us have casts of any types in their possession which are omitted in the descriptions or the plates of this paper or the last. Casts of unusual coins of imperial times of Phocis or Boeotia will also be most welcome.

For the purposes of the present paper, in addition to the material already laid up by the editors, the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris have kindly allowed us to have casts of all the coins in that collection selected as desirable; and Dr. von Sallet, of the Royal Museum of Berlin, has sent to London, with the utmost friendliness and liberality, casts of

all important coins of Peloponnesus of imperial times in his keeping.

In this instalment of the work, the numismatic lists and comments have alike been compiled by the English colleague; the Swiss colleague has supplied casts and carefully revised the whole. The text used is that of Schubart, not of Schubring, as stated by a *lapsus pennae* in the first article. The method of numbering in the plates has been modified for reasons of convenience.

LACEDAEMON.

I.—Paus. III. 10, 7. Τρίτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς εὐθείας ἐκβολὴ κατὰ τὰ δεξιὰ ἐς Καρύας ἄγει καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Νυμφῶν ἐστὶν αἱ Κάρναι, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἔστηκεν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Καρνάτιδος.

III. 14, 2. Θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν Ἰπποκουρίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Αἰγιναίας. ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ὀπίσω πρὸς τὴν λέσχην ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἰσώρας ἱερὸν. ἐπονομάζουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ Λιμναίαν, οὐσάν οὐκ Ἀρτεμιν, Βριτόμαρτιν δὲ τὴν Κρητῶν· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ Αἰγιναῖος ἔχει μοι λόγος.

III. 18, 4. Τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Κναγίαν Ἀρτεμίν ἐστιν οὕτω λεγόμενα. Κναγέα ἄνδρα ἐπιχώριον κ.τ.λ.

III. 20, 7. Οὐ πόρρω Δέρειον, ἔνθα Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Δερεάτιδος.

ARTEMIS standing left, in short chiton, right extended, in left, spear; beside her, dog.

Æ Aut. B. M. (N I.) Mion. S. IV. 221.

Artemis running right, holding torch in both hands, dog beside her.

Æ Aut. B. M. (N II.) Mion. S. IV. 223.

Paus. III. 25, 3. Θεῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ σφίσις ἱερὰ ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀστρατείας, ὅτι τῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσω στρατείας ἐνταῦθα ἐπαύσαντο Ἀμαζόνες, καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀμαζόνιος· ξόανα μὲν ἀμφότερα, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὰ τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναικάς.

ARTEMIS Astrateia? laur. clad in short chiton and endromides, holds out in right, bow? in left, shield and spear.

Æ Caracalla. B. M. (N III.)

This attribution is anything but certain. The figure on the

coin is, however, apparently female, fully armed, but in an attitude of rest. The object in the right hand seems to have a cord attached, and may be either bow or whip. As to a shield as an attribute of Artemis, see below **N** XI., XII.

Artemis clad in short chiton, holds branch in right, quiver at shoulder, inscription ΚΥΠΑΡΙΣΣΙΑ. (*Ulv.* Head of Rome.)

Æ Auton. B. M. Berlin. (**N** IV.) Imh., *Carlsruhe Mus.* p. 19.

This coin was not struck at Cyparissia, but probably at Lacedaemon, on occasion of an agonistic festival.

2.—Paus. III. 11, 11. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος Διόνυσον φέρων παῖδα.

HERMES Agoraeus, wearing chlamys, to right, holds in left hand caduceus, on left arm infant Dionysus, who raises left hand.

Æ Domna. Imh. *Mon. Gr.* p. 173. (**N** V.)

Plautilla. Berlin. *Mon. Gr.* p. 173. (**N** VI.)

Hermes Agoraeus, wearing chlamys, to right, holds in right staff resting against shoulder, in left, infant Dionysus and caduceus.

Æ Gallienus. Imh. *Mon. Gr.* p. 174.

Salonina. Imh. Berlin. (**N** VII.)

The staff, which is quite clear on **N** VII., is not to be so clearly seen on V. and VI. But the action of the right hand is the same, and the staff may be there. If so, all the representations would be practically identical, and almost certainly copies of the statue mentioned by Pausanias. The staff which Hermes is carrying in his right hand is probably a thyrsus, towards which the child Dionysus stretches out his hand.

3.—Paus. III. 12, 8. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκρεῖτα βωμός, ἔστι δ' ἐπονομαζόμενον Γάσηπτον ἱερὸν Γῆς· Ἀπόλλων δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἱδρυται Μαλεάτης.

III. 13, 3. Ὁ δὲ Κάρνειος, ὃν Οἰκέταν ἐπονομάζουσι, τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ πρὶν Ἡρακλείδας κατελθεῖν, ἱδρυτο δὲ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κρίου τοῦ Θεοκλέους, ἀνδρὸς μάντεως. Cf. 14, 6.

APOLLO naked, facing, right hand rests on head, in left, bow.

Æ Commodus. B. M.

Gallienus. Loebbecke. (**N** VIII.)

Salonina. B. M. Imh.

Apollo in long drapery, holds plectrum and lyre.

Æ Ant. Pius. Mion. S. 17. 224, 35. Paris. (**N** IX.)

A comparison with the coins of Gytheium, **N** XXIII., XXIV., seems to show that the naked Apollo, **N** VIII., is Carneius. On **N** IX. we seem to have rather the Pythian form of the god.

4.—Paus. III. 14, 6. Προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν καὶ Χαρίτων. Cf. III. 20, 1.

The DioscURI on horseback, charging with couched lances.

Æ Aut. B. M. &c.

Hadrian. B. M. Berlin. Imh.

Commod. Mion. S. iv. 225, 39.

Geta. Berlin.

The DioscURI standing beside their horses.

Æ Gallienus. Imh.

The DioscURI standing side by side, each holding spear and sword.

Æ Aut. B. M. &c.

Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 223, 68.

M. Aurel. Munich.

Caracalla. Imh.

Plautilla. B. M.

Heads of the DioscURI; their pilei; two amphorae.

Æ Aut. B. M. &c.

5.—Paus. III. 16, 3. Ἑλένης δὲ ἱερὰ καὶ Ἡρακλέους, τῆς μὲν πλησίον τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Ἀλκμᾶνος, τῷ δὲ ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ τείχους, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ὥπλισμένον (and passim).

HERAKLES naked, resting, leaning on club, much in the attitude of Glycon's statue.

Æ Ant. Pius. Paris.

Domna. B. M. (**N** x.)

6.—Paus. III. 16, 6. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Λυκούργῳ τῷ θεμένῳ τοὺς νόμους, οἳα δὴ θεῷ πεποιήκασιν καὶ τούτῳ ἱερὸν.

Head of LYCURGUS, bearded, diad., inscribed ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ.

Æ Auton. B. M. Mion. II. 217, &c.

7.—PAUS. III. 16, 7. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Λιμναῖον Ὀρθίας ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ ξόανον δὲ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι λέγουσιν ὃ ποτε Ὀρέστης καὶ Ἰφιγένεια ἐκ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἐκκλέπτουσιν. ἐς δὲ τὴν σφετέραν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κομισθῆναί φασιν Ὀρέστου καὶ ἐνταῦθα βασιλεύοντος. καὶ μοι εἰκότα λέγειν μᾶλλον τι δοκοῦσιν ἢ Ἀθηναῖοι.

Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἄρα παρώφθη γενόμενον λάφυρον τῷ Μήδῳ· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ἐκομίσθη τε ἐς Σοῦσα, καὶ ὕστερον Σελεύκου δόντος Σύροι Λαοδικεῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσι.

Archaic figure of ARTEMIS, wears polos, long chiton and over-dress; holds in raised right hand, axe, in left, buckler, on either side, stag.

(Coins of Laodicea in Syria.)

Æ Elagabalus. Mion. v. 260, 795.

Philip Sen. Mion. v. 262, 806.

Gallus. Mion. v. 263, 810. B. M. (N XI.)

The same figure, turned the other way. (At Laodicea.)

Æ Philip Sen. B. M. (N XII.)

The same figure, holding axe in right, shield in left, in presence of seated Tyche of city. (At Laodicea.)

Æ Elagabalus. Mion. S. VIII. 177, 252. (Sestini, *Mus. Hed.* III. 61, 45.)

In his Attica (I. 33, 1) Pausanias says that in the temple of Artemis at Brauron there was an archaic xoanon; but in his opinion this was not the original. In the above-quoted passage, he says further that the original statue was still extant at Laodicea in Syria. That the figure on the coins of Laodicea is a copy of this original, carried off from Attica, is sufficiently evident. Pausanias seems to have thought that the Spartan statue of Artemis Orthia had a better claim to have been brought from Taurica than even the Laodicean statue. However that be, there can be no doubt that the statue represented on the Laodicean coins is very original and interesting.

The goddess wears on her head a modius; in one hand she carries not a bipennis but an axe of the form of a socketed celt; she is clad in long drapery, in the disposition of which, as well as in the pose of her legs, but little archaism is visible. Beside her are two stags, which make the identification certain.

The shield is an attribute unusual in the case of Artemis, but not unheard of. Pausanias (IV. 13, 1) heard at Messene of an ancient statue of Artemis, which had on one occasion let fall its shield; and Iphigeneia is sometimes represented as carrying a statue, which in any hands but hers might pass for a Palladium. See Gerhard in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1849, pl. VII. p. 70. Compare also N III. The form of the axe is very noteworthy.

On the silver coins issued at Athens by Eubulides and Agathocles (Beulé, *Monn. d'Ath.* p. 287) occurs an archaic figure of Artemis, veiled, wearing modius, holding patera and bow, which has been by some taken for a copy of the statue existing at the time at Brauron, or (as by Beulé) for a copy of an imitation of that statue by Praxiteles, which was preserved on the

Athenian acropolis (Paus. I. 23, 7). If either of these views be correct, there were decided differences between the statue carried off by the Persians and that made by the Athenians to replace it.

8.—Paus. III. 17, 2. Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὸν τε ναὸν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν· Γιτιάδας δὲ εἰργάσατο ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἄσματα Δῶρια ὁ Γιτιάδας ἄλλα τε καὶ ὕμνον ἐς τὴν θεόν. ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ χαλκῷ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἄθλων Ἑρακλέους κ.τ.λ.

The PALLAS of Gitiadas, helmeted, holding lance and shield, the lower part of the body arranged in bands adorned with reliefs.

Æ Gallienus. B. M. Imh. Munich. (N XIII.)

Gallienus. Sestini, *Mus. Hed.* II. 131, 37.

Gallienus. Cadavène, *Recueil*, pl. II. 35.

Head of Pallas, helmeted.

Æ Domna. Paris. (N XIV.)

This identification is advocated by Koner (*Zeitschr. f. Münzk.* 1845, p. 2) and Jahn, but doubted by Overbeck (*Gr. Plast.* I. p. 124), who also considers it improbable that the reliefs were on the person of the goddess. It is, however, not easy to explain the words of Pausanias, except on the supposition that the reliefs were on the goddess herself, that is, on her close-fitting chiton, and the representation on the coin, which is quite *sui generis*, and can scarcely be interpreted except as it is by Koner, seems to clinch the argument. In the upper part of the body we may trace something of womanly form; the shape of the lower part seems to be sacrificed to the exigencies of the reliefs.

The head on No. XIV. must almost certainly be copied from a statue, for the head of a deity, unless so copied, seldom or never appears on imperial coins of Peloponnesus. It is probably a free copy of the head of the statue of Gitiadas. The form of the helmet, half way between the close-fitting and the Corinthian types, is notable; but unfortunately the coin is badly preserved, and the details obscure.

Coins of Melos (Paris Coll. and *Br. Mus. Cat., Islands*, pl. xxiv. 13) bear a type which seems to reproduce the same statue; the details, however, are not clear. Melos was a Laconian colony. Of the head of this statue we have also a record on

Melian coins of imperial times, which bear a head of Pallas distinctly archaic, with long straight tresses falling behind the ear, in a close-fitting helmet (**N** xv.).

- 9.—Paus. III. 19, 1. Καὶ τὸ ἀγάλμα ἐνταῦθα ἐνέστηκε. μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ μέτρῳ μὲν οὐδένα ἀνευρόντα οἶδα, εἰκάζοντι δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα εἶναι φαίνονται ἂν πῆχεις. ἔργον δὲ οὐ Βαθυκλέους ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖον καὶ οὐ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένον· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ καὶ πόδες εἰσιν ἄκροι καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῷ κίονι ἐστὶν εἰκασμένον. ἔχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. τοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματος τὸ βάθρον παρέχεται μὲν βωμοῦ σχῆμα, τεθάφθαι δὲ τὸν Ὑάκινθον λέγουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ. A copy of this statue as Pythaeus at Thornax, III. 10, 8, cf. 11, 9.

Statue of APOLLO Amyclaeus clad in long chiton and aegis, helmeted, holding lance and bow, body in form of a pillar.

Æ of a king third century B.C. Beside Apollo goat, and aplustre surmounted by cock, wreath in field. B. M. Berlin. Bompöis. (**N** xvi.) Paris &c. Cf. Bompöis, *Portraits attrib. à Cléomène*, pl. I.

Similar figure without chiton.

Æ Commodus. B. M. (**N** xvii.)

Gallienus. Imh.

Leake has shown (*Num. Hellen., Europe*, p. 55) that the figure on these coins is a copy of the colossus of Apollo at Amyclae. The work seems to be of the same school as the statue of Athene already mentioned, but ruder and earlier, the body showing no approach to the human form. As to the exact form of the body, however, the coins differ: the earlier make it clad and conical, the later like a term. We can scarcely doubt that the later representation (**N** xvii.) is more faithful, since it belongs to a time when the die cutter took smaller liberties with his model. On it the body of the deity is divided by crossing lines into lozenge-shaped divisions, no doubt representing the plates of bronze; one can even detect on the coin the nails by which these are secured. The head of the deity is archaic, with long curl falling on to the neck, and a queue behind. The whole is let into a stand or basis.

10.—OTHER TYPES at Lacedaemon:—

Male figure, bearded, seated on cippus, looking back, holds knotted staff.

Æ Ant. Pius. B. M. Imh.

Geta. Imh. *Mon. Gr.* p. 174. (**N** xviii.)

Veiled female figure seated left on cippus, in attitude of grief.

Æ Geta. B. M. (N XIX.)

The pose of this figure is strikingly like that of the so-called Penelope of the Vatican.

Nike, holds wreath and palm.

Æ Geta. Imh.

Female head, left, diad. : inscription ΣΠΑΡΤΗ.

Æ Aut. B. M. Imh. Paris.

GYTHEIUM.

1.—PAUS. III. 21, 7. Γυθεῖται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλέα δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρίποδος εἰς ἀγῶνα ἐλθόντας, ὡς διηλλάγησαν, μετὰ τὴν ἔριν οἰκίσαι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σφίσιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα.

APOLLO facing, clad in long chiton, right hand extended, in left, lyre.

Æ Domna. Imh.

Carac. Paris. (N XX.)

Geta. B. M.

Apollo facing, naked, holds branch and bow.

Æ Sept. Sev. Mion. S. IV. 230, 55. Paris. (N XXI.) (Eckhel, *Num. Vet.* IX. 1.)

Bearded HERAKLES standing, holds club, which rests on the ground, and lion's skin.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (N XXII.)

Domna. Mion. II. 226, 83. Paris.

Geta. B. M. Mion. II. 227, 87.

Herakles in attitude of Glycon's figure.

Æ Geta. Paris.

The branch in the hand of the Apollo (N XXI.) reminds one of that which Herakles holds on the coin of Croton, where he is specially described as ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ (Carelli, *Num. Ital. Vet.* pl. clxxxiii. 21; Gardner, *Types*, pl. v. 2). It may refer to his office as founder; with the other hand he seems to be laying aside his bow. Herakles (N XXII.) is also in an attitude of conciliation; whether the two figures can be reasonably regarded as belonging to one group is a question.

2.—PAUS. III. 21, 7. Ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ἀπόλλων Κάρνειος.

APOLLO naked, right hand raised over his head, in left, which rests on trunk of tree, leaf? beside him on a basis

horned Pan, holding pedum and nebris in right hand, syrinx in left.

Æ Sept. Sev. Bibl. Turin.
Geta. B. M. (N XXIII.)

Similar, without Pan.

Æ Sept. Sev. *Mus. Sanct.* II. pl. 24, 210, B.
Carac. Mion. S. IV. 232, 65. Paris.
Carac. Berlin. (N XXIV.)

In the first of these coins the object in the hand of Apollo appears not to be an arrow, but a trefoil leaf; in the other coins it is not clear. The presence of Pan seems to show that Apollo Carneius is here intended; and the Pan and Apollo alike should be, according to the usual tests, copies of statues, as one stands on a basis, the other leans on a pillar.

3.—Paus. III. 21, 7. Πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Διόνυσος. Cf. 22, 2, Διούσου δὲ ὄρος ἱερὸν Λαρύσιον καλούμενόν ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.

DIONYSUS standing, holds in right grapes or kantharos, in left, thyrsos; wears nebris.

Æ Sept. Sev. Mion. S. IV. 230, 56, 57.

(Possibly a Hermes wrongly described; see below under section 9: O VII.)

4.—Paus. III. 21, 7. Καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμά ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐπόντος ὀρόφου τῷ ναῷ, καὶ πηγῇ τοῦ θεοῦ.

ASKLEPIOS facing, clad in himation, right hand extended, in left, serpent-staff; before him, snake-entwined altar.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. Paris. (O I.)
J. Domna. Sest. *Lct. Cont.* IX. 10, 1.
Geta. Sest. *Lct. Cont.* IX. 10, 2.

Similar figure, with altar, in a temple: roof only over opisthodomos, not over naos.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (O II.)
Geta. *Mus. Arig.* II. 25, 354.

This is a clear instance of the copy of a statue on coins; the type of the statue is, however, quite ordinary. It seems that the temple is rendered on the coin with some exactness. It is seen nearly in profile from its left side. To the extreme left are two pillars, which stand for the front of the temple; next an unroofed space, ναός, in which stands the statue; and furthest to the right an opisthodomos with roof. That this is what is intended seems to be proved by the fact that the corner of the aëtoma does not reach to the furthest pillar; but aëtoma and pillars and the deity himself are all represented in a perspective

which is not correct, too much facing the spectator. The pillars are fluted in their upper, plain in their lower half.

5.—Paus. III. 21, 7. . . . Καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἄγιον.

DEMETER seated, holds ears of corn and sceptre.

Æ Geta. *Mus. Arig.* i. 9, 134.

6.—Paus. III. 21, 7. . . . Καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα Γαλαόχου.

POSEIDON naked, standing, holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Caracalla. (O III.)

This is a pose in which Poseidon often appears on coins of Corinth (D LX.—LXII.) and other cities of Peloponnesus.

7.—Paus. III. 21, 9. Καλοῦνται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πύλαι Καστο-
ρίδες.

The DIOSCURI standing, each holding his horse; between them a tree.

Æ Geta. *Mion. S.* iv. 233, 75.

Leake, *Sup.* p. 127.

The Dioscuri standing, each holds spear and sword; between them altar entwined by snake.

Æ Sept. Sev. *Imh.* (O IV.)

8.—Paus. III. 21, 9. Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα
Ἀθηνᾶς πεποίηται.

PALLAS standing, holds in her right hand a spear.

Æ Geta. *Mion. S.* iv. 233, 72.

9.—Paus. III. 22, 1. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀφρο-
δίτης ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Μιγωνίδος, καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας
καλεῖται Μιγώνιον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἱερόν ποιῆσαι
λέγουσιν Ἀλέξανδρον.

APHRODITE standing, draped, holds apple and sceptre.

Æ Domna. *Wiczay, Mus. Hed.* i. pl. xvii. 374.

Plautilla. *Paris. R. & F.* (O V.)

Geta. *Löbbecke.*

10.—OTHER TYPES at Gytheium.

Zeus seated, holds thunderbolt and sceptre.

Æ Sept. Sev. *Caracalla.* B. M.

Geta. *Munich.*

Zeus standing, holds Victory and sceptre, chlamys over shoulders.

Æ Geta. *Mion.* ii. 227, 86. *Paris.* (O VI.)

Plautilla. *Mion. S.* iv. 233, 70.

Hermes standing at altar, holds purse and caduceus, chlamys over shoulders.

Æ Sept. Sev. *Paris.*

Caracalla. *Mion. S.* iv. 232, 68.

Geta. B. M.

Same type, without altar.

Æ Sept. Sev. Berlin.

Caracalla. Vienna. (O VII.)

Two wrestlers.

Æ Geta. Leake, *Supp.* p. 127.

Artemis, left, clad in long chiton; holds in right hand, bow inverted, in left, long sceptre.

Æ Plautilla. Imh. (O VIII.)

Artemis, left, clad in long chiton, with quiver at shoulder, leaning right elbow on pillar; in left hand, bow.

Æ Plautilla. Berlin. Munich.

Artemis, as above, leaning left elbow on pillar, bow in right.

Æ Plautilla. (O IX.)

ASOPUS.

1.—Paus. III. 22, 9. Καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει
Κυπαρισσίας ἐπὶ κλησιν.

ATHENE standing, left, helmeted? clad in long chiton; holds in raised right, spear, in left, cypress-branch.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris. (O X.)

This coin is in so poor preservation that the description cannot be relied on.

2. OTHER TYPES at Asopus.

Zeus facing, clad in himation, sceptre in raised right hand.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris. (O XI.)

Artemis hunting.

Æ Sept. Sev.

Dionysus standing, naked, holds kantharos and thyrsos; panther beside him.

Æ Carac. Munich. (O XII.)

Poseidon standing.

Æ Carac.

Nemesis; a wheel at her feet; holds end of her veil.

Æ Plautilla. Berlin. (O XIII.)

(All in Mion. S. IV. p. 228.)

BOEAE.

1.—Paus. III. 22, 12. Μάντευμα ἦν αὐτοῖς Ἀρτεμιν ἔνθα οἰκήσουσιν ἐπιδείξειν. . . Ἀρτεμιν ὀνομάζουσι Σώ-
τειραν.

Bust of ARTEMIS.

Æ Geta. Mion. *Sup.* IV. 230, 54.

2.—Paus. III. 22, 13. Καὶ ἐτέρωθι Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Σαράπιδός
τε καὶ Ἰσίδος.

ASKLEPIOS standing as usual.

Æ Caracalla. Paris. (O XIV.) Plautilla.

Mion. *Sup.* iv. 229, 53.

ISIS, holds sistrum and vase, usual ornament on her head.

Æ Domna. Munich. (O XV.)

3.—PAUS. III. 23, 2. Πλέοντι δὲ ἐκ Βοιῶν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν
τῆς Μαλέας λιμὴν ἔστιν ὀνομαζόμενον Νύμφαιον, καὶ
Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν.

POSEIDON naked, standing, holds in right hand dolphin, in left trident.

Æ Domna. B. M. (O XVI.)

4.—OTHER TYPES at Boeae.

Eros walking, holds bow and torch.

Caracalla, Geta. (Paris.)

[Cf. 22, 11, Aphrodisias, a small town, was incorporated in Boeae.]

(See Mion. *Sup.* iv. p. 229.)

Athene standing, holds shield resting on the ground, and spear.

Æ Geta. Leake, *Sup.* p. 117.

LAS.

1.—PAUS. III. 24, 6. Καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως ἔστι τῆς ἀρχαίας
ἐρείπια, καὶ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους.

HERAKLES standing, holds club and lion's skin.

Æ Sept. Sev. Mion. S. iv. 234, 77. Copenhagen.

Carac. Imh. (O XVII.)

Geta. Mion. S. iv. 235, 81. Copenhagen.

2.—PAUS. III. 24, 7. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς
ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀσίας, ποιῆσαι δὲ Πολυδεύκην καὶ Καστορά
φασιν ἀνασωθέντας ἐκ Κόλχων.

ATHENE standing, in raised right, spear, left resting on shield placed on the ground.

Æ Caracalla. Munich. Athens.

Geta. Mion. II. 228, 88. Paris. (O XVIII.)

This representation of Athene is in general aspect not unlike the Brauronian statue of Artemis (N XII.), which was supposed to be of Colchian origin ; but it has no appearance of extreme antiquity.

3.—PAUS. III. 24, 8. Τῶν δὲ ὀρώων ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἰλίου Διονύσου
τέ ἔστι καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός.

ASKLEPIOS standing, as usual.

Æ Caracalla. Mion. S. iv. 234, 78. Paris.

Plautilla. B. M. (O XIX.)

Stiff and apparently early figure of Hygieia standing, feeding serpent, which she holds in left hand on fruit which she holds in right hand.

Æ Caracalla. B. M. &c. (O xx.)

Sept. Sev. Imh. Occupation of hands reversed.

4.—Paus. III. 24, 9. Πρὸς θαλάσση δὲ ἐπὶ ἄκρας ναός ἐστι Δικτύννης Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι.

ARTEMIS Dictynna standing drawing an arrow from quiver with right, in left, bow; beside her, dog and stag.

Æ Sept. Sev. Leake, *Eur. Gr.* p. 60. (O XXI.)

5.—OTHER TYPES at Las.

Tyche sacrificing at altar.

Æ Carac. B. M., &c.

THURIA.

See Paus. IV. 31, 2.

TYPES ON COINS.

Athene standing, holds spear and shield which rests on the ground.

Æ Anton., Sep. Sev., Carac., &c.

In an inscription from Thuria (Le Bas and Wad., part II., no. 301), mention is made of a priest of Athene.

Athene standing, holds patera and spear.

Æ Sept. Sev., Carac. Loebbecke. (O XXII.)

This is apparently a type borrowed from that of Athena Panachaia at Patrae, Q XIV.

Zeus striding, holds thunderbolt and eagle (type of Messene).

Æ Anton. Mion. S. IV. 216, 56.

Zeus standing, holds eagle and sceptre.

Æ Sept. Sev.

Geta. Munich.

The letters ΛΑ[κεδαιμονίων] in the field of many coins of Thuria confirm the saying of Paus. IV. 31, 1. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔχειν τοῖς ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν Θουρίαν ἔδωκεν Αὔγουστος. Cf. Weil in *Mittheil. d. I.* VII. 217.

Asklepios facing, leans on serpent-entwined staff.

Æ Geta.

Artemis, in long chiton, holds in both hands long torch.

Æ Domna. Berlin. (O XXIII.)

Apollo standing, clad in long chiton, holds in right, tripod, in left, sceptre.

Æ Domna. Imh. (O XXIV.)

Carac. Berlin.

TYCHE turreted, holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Sept. Sev.
Carac., &c.
Geta.

Tyche, holds rudder and cornucopiae.

Æ Sept. Sev.
Domna.

MESSENE.

1.—Paus. IV. 31, 9. Καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν ἄγιον.

Head of DEMETER bound with corn.

AR, Æ Auton.

2.—Paus. IV. 31, 10. Πλείστα δέ σφισι καὶ θέας μάλιστα [ἀγάλματα] ἄξια τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρέχεται τὸ ἱερόν. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα κ.τ.λ., works of Damophon of Messene.

ASKLEPIOS with usual attributes; in field wreath.

Æ Auton. (Obv. Bust of City.) B. M. (P I.)
Geta. Paris.

Hygieia standing.

Æ Domna. M.S. IV. 208, 15.

IV. 31, 10. Πόλις τε ἡ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁ Κλεόμμιδος, Τύχη τε καὶ τ. λ. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνης τῆς Τριόπα ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου Παρίου.

Bust of CITY of Messene wearing turreted crown and veil.

Æ Auton. B. M. (P II.) Mion. II. 211, &c.

[Cf. however 31, 6. ἄγαλμα Μητρὸς θεῶν λίθον Παρίου, Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἔργον.]

P I. and P II. are the two sides of one coin, issued probably in imperial times. The wreath in the field may indicate that it, like most of the autonomous coins issued in Greece during Roman domination, was struck on the occasion of a festival. As to the head on the obverse, we cannot be sure whether it is meant for Messene or Tyche, or the Mother of the Gods. There is something in its aspect which seems to show that it is meant for the copy of a work of art. Almost all the great statues at Messene were made by Damophon at the time of the restoration of the city by Epaminondas, B.C. 370. Our coins enable us to restore the outlines of several of the statues of this interesting artist, of whom apart from coins and the statements of Pausanias we know nothing.

3.—Paus. IV. 31, 10. Καὶ Ἡρακλέους (ἄγαλμα) . . . cf. 32, 1.

HERAKLES resting, in the attitude of Glycon's statue.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris.

4.—Paus. IV. 31, 7. *Δαμοφώντος δέ ἐστι τούτου καὶ ἡ Λαφρία καλουμένη παρὰ Μεσσηνίοις.*

ARTEMIS Laphria standing, clad in short chiton, spear in right, left elbow resting on column; beside her, dog.

Æ Auton. Paris. (P III.)

A comparison of this figure with that of Artemis Laphria on the coins of Patrae (Q VII.—XI.), which reproduces the statue of Menaechmus and Soidas, furnishes sufficient reason for calling this figure also Laphria. It is probably, as the pillar indicates, a copy of a statue, therefore of the statue of Damophon. Damophon was doubtless familiar with the earlier statue of Laphria, which in his time stood not at Patrae but at Calydon in Aetolia, not far from Naupactus, where the Messenians were settled before their city was rebuilt by Epaminondas. The chief variety introduced by him on the older type seems to have been to make the goddess grasp a spear instead of placing her hand on her side.

5.—Paus. IV. 33, 2. *Τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸ ἱερόν. Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς Ἀγελάδα μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς οἰκήσασιν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Μεσσηνίων.*

The ZEUS of Ageladas striding to right; in right hand, fulmen, on left wrist, eagle.

Æ Auton. Fourth century. B. M. (P IV.) Third century. B. M. (P v.)

Æ (Tripod in front.) Auton.

Æ (Tripod behind.) Auton.

Cf. 31, 6. *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα Σωτήρος.*

Zeus naked, standing to right; in right hand, sceptre, in extended left, eagle.

Æ Auton. (Tripod in field.) B. M.

Geta. (Sceptre surmounted by eagle.) Berlin. (P VI.)

Zeus standing, holds sceptre and thunderbolt.

Æ Sept. Sev. M.S. iv. 208, 14. Paris.

Zeus Nikephoros seated.

Æ Carac. Postol. Cat. 1884, p. 23.

The coins (P IV. v.), as might be expected from their date, give us only very free copies of the statue of Ageladas; copies from which we can only judge of its pose and general composition; in details they conform to the ideas of the times when the coins were severally struck. As to the statue itself, see Overbeck,

Kunstmythologie II. 12. The usual opinion that the head was beardless seems to be not well-founded.

6.—OTHER TYPES at Messene.

Athene standing, holds in raised right hand, lance, in left, shield.

Æ Sept. Sev. *Stift St. Flor.* pl. III. 3.
Domna. Imh. (P VII.)

CORONE.

- 1.—Paus. IV. 34, 7. Χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
τὸ ἀγαλμὰ ἐστὶν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, κορώνην ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα
—cf. 34, 6. καὶ Διονύσου ναός.

Head of ATHENE helmeted. *Rev.* grapes.

Æ Æ Auton. B. M., &c.

COLONIDES.

Paus. IV. 34, 8.

TYPES on coins.

Asklepios standing.

Æ Sept. Sev.

Aphrodite facing, holds apple and sceptre.

Æ Geta. Imh. (P x.)

Poseidon, holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Sept. Sev.

Tyche at altar, right hand advanced, in left, sceptre.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M.

Pallas standing, holds patera and spear.

Æ Geta. Athens.

MOTHONE.

- 1.—Paus. IV. 35, 1. Δόξη δὲ ἐμῇ δέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ὁ
Μόθων λίθος. οὗτος δὲ σφισι καὶ ὁ ποιῶν τὸν λιμένα
ἐστί· τὸν τε γὰρ ἔσπλουν στενώτερον ταῖς ναυσὶν
ἐργάζεται παρήκων ὕφαλος, καὶ ἅμα μὴ ἐκ βυθοῦ
ταράσσεσθαι τὸν κλύδωνα ἔρυμα ἔστηκεν.

PORT in form of an amphitheatre ; in the entrance a ship with sail.

Æ Carac. *Mus. Sancti.* III. p. 17 and 1.

Imh. Statue in entrance. (P VIII.)

- 2.—Paus. IV. 35. Ἐν Μοθώνῃ δὲ ναός ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀνεμώ-
τιδος· Διομήδην δὲ τὸ ἀγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα
τῇ θεῷ φασὶ θέσθαι.

PALLAS standing, helmeted, in right hand, patera, in left, spear.

Æ Domna. Mion. II. 213, 34.

Geta. B. M.

Plautilla. Mion. II. 213, 35. Löbbecke. (P XI.) Altar at her feet.

Pallas standing, left hand extended, in right spear, against which leans shield.

Æ Domna. B. M. (P XII.)

This type of Athene is by no means archaic; it is a copy of the Athene at Patrae (*q. v.*) Q XIV.

3.—Paus. IV. 35, 8. Καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος δ' ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα.

ARTEMIS standing, her right hand resting on a spear: a stag and a dog on either side of her.

Æ Geta. Mion. II. 214, 36. Imh. (P XIII.)

Artemis hunting, holds arrow and bow.

Æ Domna. Mion. S. IV. 212, 34.

Geta. Mion. S. IV. 213, 36.

4.—OTHER TYPES at Mothone.

Isis.

Æ Domna. Plautilla. B. M.

Two female figures face to face, one has right hand raised, the other right hand advanced, sceptre in left.

Æ Geta. Paris.

Poseidon, naked, holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Sept. Sev.

Asklepios.

Æ Geta.

Hephaestus running, holds torch in both hands.

Æ Auton. Imh. *M.G.* pl. D. 2. (P IX.)

Female figure holding out both hands.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. (P XIV.)

PYLOS.

1.—Paus. IV. 36, 2. Ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κορυφασίας.

PALLAS standing, holds patera and spear.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris. B. M. Imh.

Caracalla. Berlin. (P XV.)

Plautilla. Mion. S. IV. 215, 52, &c.

Pallas, holds owl and spear.

Æ Domna. Mion. S. IV. 215, 48.

2.—OTHER TYPES at Pylos.

Asklepios.

Æ Caracalla.

Terminal female figure veiled and closely draped, holds in right end of her garment.

Æ Carac. Paris.

Geta. Copenhagen. (P XVI.)

Dionysus, holds kantharos and thyrsos.

Æ Geta.

Goat reclining on basis.

Æ Sept. Sev., Geta. B. M., &c.
Carac. Munich.

CYPARISSIA.

- 1.—Paus. IV. 36, 7. Ἀφικομένων δὲ ἐς Κυπαρισσίας ἐκ Πύλου σφίσι πηγὴ ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει πλησίον θαλάσσης ἐστὶ· ῥυῆναι δὲ Διονύσῳ τὸ ὕδωρ λέγουσι θύρῳ πλῆξαντι ἐς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Διουνυσιάδα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν πηγὴν.

DIONYSUS standing, in short chiton, holds kantharos and thyrsos.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. Imh. (P XVII.)
Domna, Caracalla. Paris, &c.

- 2.—Paus. IV. 36, 7. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Κυπαρισσιᾷ ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κυπαρισσίας.

ATHENE standing, holds patera and spear, against which, sometimes, leans a shield.

Æ Sept. Sev. Berlin.
Domna. Mion S. 210, 20, 23.
Caracalla. (P XVIII.)
Plautilla. B. M.
Geta. Munich.

APOLLO facing, naked, holds in right, branch, in left, lyre which rests on pillar.

Æ Sept. Sev. Berlin. (P XIX.)

- 3.—Paus. IV. 36, 5. Ἐν δὲ Αὐλῶνι καλουμένῳ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Αὐλωνίου.

ASKLEPIOS standing; usual type.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris. B. M.
Domna. Loebbecke.
Caracalla, Geta. B. M.

Hygieia standing; feeds serpent from patera.

Æ Domna. Loebbecke.

4.—OTHER TYPES at Cyparissia.

Athlete, holding urn in which is a palm, and a staff.

Æ Domna. Vaillant, *Num. Gr.* p. 92.

Poseidon naked, standing left; holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Caracalla. Carlsruhe.

Tyche, holds cornucopiae and sceptre.

Æ Caracalla. Munich.

ELIS.

The coins of Elis present us unfortunately in but very few instances with copies of the numberless works of art which existed at Olympia. There are, however, extant a very few

important pieces struck in the reign of Hadrian, and in that of Septimius Severus, which are clearly intended as medals to perpetuate certain works of art, and on them we have some of the most satisfactory reproductions of ancient statues extant on coins. Among the statues thus reproduced are the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, the Aphrodite Pandemos of Scopas, and the Dionysus of Praxiteles. In the recent excavations at Olympia a large number of coins of Elis of the Imperial age were found, and are now in the Athenian coin-cabinet. See Postolacca's *Catalogue* of coins presented in 1883-4.

1.—Paus. v. 10, 7. Καὶ αὐθις ὁ αἰτὸς κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποίηται.

v. 14, 6. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κατειλεγμένους Ἀλφειῷ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἐνὸς βωμοῦ· τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω καὶ ἄλλος τῷ Ἀλφειῷ βωμὸς πεποίηται.

ALPHEIUS beardless reclining in waves, holds wreath and reed ; before him, vessel.

Æ Hadrian. M.S. iv. 180, 49. Postol. *Cat.* 1884, p. 20.

Sept. Sev., Caracalla. Postolacca. *l. c.* pl. II. 12.

Alpheius reclining, bearded, holds cornucopiae and reed.

Æ Hadrian. Sest. *Fontana Mus.* p. 58, 1.

See also below.

2.—Paus. v. 11. Καθέζεται μὲν δὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐν θρόνῳ χρυσοῦ πεπονημένος καὶ ἐλέφαντος· στέφανος δὲ ἐπὶ κεφαλήν οἱ τῇ κεφαλῇ μεμιμημένος ἐλαίας κλῶνας. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ δεξιᾷ φέρει Νίκην ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ταύτην καὶ χρυσοῦ, ταινίαν τε ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον· τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ χειρὶ ἔνεστι σκήπτρον μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσι διηνηθισμένον. ὁ δὲ ὄρνις ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθήμενός ἐστιν ὁ αἰτὸς.

ZEUS Olympius seated on throne, holds Nike and sceptre.

Æ Hadrian. Florence. (P xx.) Berlin. (P xxi.) Athens. *Fontana*, pl. vi. 1.

Caracalla. Athens. Paris. Imh. *Mus. Hderv.*

Geta. B. M. Athens. Postolacca. *Cat.* 1884, p. 22.

Compare Stephani, *Compte rendu* 1876, plate, Nos. 3 and 4.

Head of Zeus Olympius laur.

Æ Hadr. Paris. (P xxii.)

Sept. Sev. Vaill. *Gr.* p. 82. Paris. (P xxiii.)

Head of Zeus.

R Auton. B. M.

Cf. v. 24, 1. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἐρχομένῳ τὸν μέγαν ἔστιν ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Διός,

ἐστεφανωμένον δὲ οἶα δὴ ἄνθεσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ κεραυνὸς πεποιήται.

Zeus striding, hurls fulmen, eagle on extended right.

Æ (archaic) Auton. Photiades Coll.

Æ Auton. B. M.

Hadr. B. M. Postol. *Cat.* 1884, pl. i. 6.

Zeus standing, resting on right leg, in sunk right hand, fulmen, on left wrist, eagle.

Æ Hadr. Postol. *Cat.* 1884, pl. i. 5, 7, 8.

Zeus seated, eagle flying from him.

Æ Auton. Early. B. M.

Nike winged, standing and running; thunderbolt; eagle tearing serpent.

Æ Auton.

The reproductions, statue and head, of the colossus of Pheidias are so fully discussed in the histories of sculpture that no more need here be said about them. See also Gardner, *Coins of Elis*, p. 48. The statues of Zeus in the Altis must have been numberless; we cannot venture therefore more closely to identify any of the other coin-types.

3.—Paus. v. 13. Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως καὶ Πέλοπι ἀποτετμημένον τέμενος· ἡρώων δὲ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοσοῦτον προτετμημένος ἐστὶν ὁ Πέλοψ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ὅσον Ζεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων.

PELOPS? clad in short chiton, leading horse by the bridle.

Æ Hadr. Postol. *Cat.* 1884, p. 20. Milan.

Mus. Sanct. ii. 19, 127.

4.—Paus. v. 17, 1. Τὸ δὲ Ἥρας ἄγαλμα καθήμενόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ θρόνῳ.

Head of HERA wearing stephanos.

Æ Auton. B. M.

5.—Paus. vi. 25, 2. Κρηπὶς δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένους πεποιήται, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κρηπίδι ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης χαλκοῦν ἐπὶ τράγῳ κάθεται χαλκῷ. Σκόπα τοῦτο ἔργον, Ἀφροδίτην δὲ Πάνδημον ὀνομάζουσι.

APHRODITE clad in long chiton and full over-garment, seated sideways on goat galloping to right.

Æ Hadr. B. M. (P xxiv.)

Sept. Sev. Postol. *Cat.* 1884, p. 21.

Carac. Postol. *Cat.* 1884, pl. ii. 11.

This identification is due to R. Weil (*Archäol. Aufsätze* E. Curtius gewidmet, 1884), who publishes the coin of Severus, of which a cut is here added.

The coin of the British Museum, **P** xxiv, though unfortunately in a very poor state of preservation, is in a better style than this, and apparently more faithful to the original. The attitude is less stiff, and more graceful. The mantle of Aphrodite seems to envelop her sides and back completely, and the chiton reaches to her feet; only her head and arms appear; in the treatment of these and of the drapery the charm of the statue must have consisted.



6.—Paus. VI. 26, 1. Θέατρον δὲ ἀρχαῖον μεταξύ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τοῦ Μηνίου τὸ θέατρον τε καὶ ἱερόν ἐστι Διονύσου· τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα Πραξιτέλους. θεῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Διόνυσον σέβουσιν Ἑλλεῖοι, καὶ τὸν θεόν σφισιν ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐς τῶν Θυῖων τὴν ἐορτὴν λέγουσιν.

DIONYSUS facing; in raised right hand rhyton, in left thyrsus; on one side panther, on the other tympanum.

Æ Hadr. Postol. Cat. 1884, pl. II. 9. Berlin. Zeitschr. f. Num. 13, 384.

Satyr, holds bunch of grapes and pedum.

Æ Hadr. Mion. S. IV. 180, 46.

Cf. v. 19, 6. Διόνυσος δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ κατακείμενος, γένεια ἔχων καὶ ἔκπωμα χρυσοῦν, ἐνδεδυκώς ἐστι ποδήρη χιτῶνα· δένδρα δὲ ἄμπελοι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ μηλέαι τε εἰσὶ καὶ ῥοιαί.

Head of Dionysus bearded, crowned with ivy.

Æ Sept. Sev. Mion. S. IV. 181, 57.

[This is a mistake; the head is really of the Olympian Zeus,

P xxiii.]

Dr. Weil has ably shown that the figure of Dionysus on the coin of Hadrian is very probably a copy of the statue of Praxiteles. In addition to internal evidence, the fact that the other coins of Hadrian bear copies of statues points in this direction. We reproduce Weil's cut, made under his direction from the coins.

The forms of the god are rather effeminate; his garment, fastened at his neck, falls round his lower limbs in full folds; the left leg is crossed over the right. His left elbow rests on a prop over which also hangs his upper garment. Beside him is on one side a panther, on the other his thyrsus and tympanum. In his left hand is a cup, in his right he lifts aloft a rhyton.



7.—OTHER TYPES at Elis.

Female figure (Olympia?) facing, holds eagle and palm branch;
at her feet two rivers reclining.

Æ Hadr. *Postol. Cat.* 1884, pl. II. 10.

Head of Olympia; inscription ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ.

Æ Auton. B. M.

DYME.

1.—Paus. VII. 17, 5. Ποταμός τε Λάρισος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ναὸς ἐστὶ Λαρισαίας, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πόλις Δύμη σταδίου ὅσον τε τριάκοντα ἀπέχουσα τοῦ Λαρίσου.

VII. 17, 9. Δυμαίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον.

Head of PALLAS, helmeted.

Æ Auton. Leake, *Eur. Sup.* p. 124.

Auton. *Inh. M. G.* p. 163.

FISH.

Æ Auton.

2.—OTHER TYPES at Dyme.

Veiled female head, perhaps of Demeter, possibly of Mater Dindymene (Paus. VII. 17, 9).

Æ Auton.

PATRAE.

1.—Paus. VII. 18, 2. Πατρέων ἡ πόλις· οὐ πόρρω δὲ αὐτῆς ποταμὸς Γλαῦκος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασσαν.

VII. 19, 5. Ταύτης μὲν δὴ τῆς θυσίας ἕνεκα ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Τρικλαρίας Ἀμείλιχος ἐκλήθη· τέως δὲ ὄνομα εἶχεν οὐδέν. Cf. 19, 9. τό τε ὄνομα ἐτέθη τὸ νῦν τῷ ποταμῷ Μείλιχος.

RIVER-GOD reclining.

Æ Ant. Pius. *Mus. Arig.* II. 7. 67.

2.—Paus. VII. 19, 6. Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλούσης καὶ νεμομένων τὰ λάφυρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Εὐρύπυλος ὁ Εὐαίμονος λαμβάνει λάρνακα· Διούσου δὲ ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῇ λάρνακι, ἔργον μὲν, ὥς φασιν, Ἡφαίστου, δῶρον δὲ ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐδόθη Δαρδάνῳ, κ.τ.λ.

(Box and statue in it brought by Eurypylus to Patrae.)

Man running to altar, clad in chlamys, holds a box in his hand.

Æ Hadrian. Berlin. (Q I.)

Sabina. *Sest. Lit. Num.* IX. pl. I. 5.

The altar is probably that of Artemis Triclaria, on approaching which Eurypylus was healed of his insanity.

Genius of Patrae, naked, facing, one arm extended over altar, one rests on box raised on pedestal.

Æ M. Aurel. Imh. (Q II.) Berlin.

L. Verus. Paris.

Commodus. Paris.

Altar surmounted by box, in front of it some temple-officers; behind, spectators; in exergue, river-god reclining.

Æ Sept. Sev. Munich. (Q IV.)

Round box with conical cover, wreathed with ivy, within ivy wreath, sometimes between ears of corn.

Æ Auton. Paris. Imh. (Q III.) Leake, *Eur.* p. 83.

Auton. *St. Flor.* p. 74, pl. II. 21.

Similar box; thyrsus and bunch of grapes.

Æ Auton. Paris.

This type has perplexed many writers: it has been termed Mons Panachaïcus, or (by Leake) the tomb of Patreus; but Kenner's view (*St. Flor.* p. 74) is preferable, according to which it represents the casket in which the statue of Bacchus was kept.

On the reverse of the coins above described appears a figure clad in a short chiton, holding in one hand a torch, in the other a short thyrsus or spear. This appears in our plates, Q XII. Leake supposes it to be a representation of the figure of Dionysus contained in the chest. A Dionysus it may be, but it can

scarcely stand for a statue supposed to have been brought from Ilium, and so, presumably, of archaic type. There is something to be said for the view of Kenner (*St. Flor.*, l. c.), that the deity represented is rather Artemis Triclaria, with whose cultus the box containing the Dionysus was closely connected.

21, 1. Καὶ Διονύσου κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Καλυδωνίου· μετεκομίσθη γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκ Καλυδῶνος.

21, 6. Διονύσου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἀγάλματα, ἴσοι τε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίσμασι καὶ ὁμώνυμοι· Μεσατεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἀνθεὺς τε καὶ Ἀροεὺς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα.

Dionysus? radiate, holds in right, bunch of grapes, over left arm, nebris.

Æ Elagabalus? Paris. (Q v.)

DIONYSUS standing, himation wrapped round loins, holds in right hand kantharos, left rests on column.

Æ M. Aurel. *Mus. Arig.* i. 6, 86.

Dionysus, and Satyrs, one of whom supports him, and one follows; also panther.

Æ Sept. Sev. Ramus, *Cat. Num. Dan.* i. iv. 1.

3.—Paus. vii. 18, 9. Πατρεῦσι δὲ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος λαφύρων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Λαφρίας ἔδωκε τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῇ Πατρέων εἶχε τιμὰς.

18, 10. Τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος θηρεύουσά ἐστιν, ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποίηται, Ναυπάκτιοι δὲ Μέναιχμος καὶ Σοῖδας εἰργάσαντο· τεκμαίρονται δὲ σφᾶς Κανάχου τοῦ Σικυνωλίου καὶ τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Κάλλωνος οὐ πολλῶ γενέσθαι τινὲ ἡλικίαν ὑστέρους.

ARTEMIS Laphria facing, clad in short chiton which leaves right breast bare, a quiver at her shoulder, right hand rests on hip, in left bow, chlamys falling over left arm; to left a dog, to right a pedestal, on which the bow rests.

Æ Galba. Berlin. Inscr. DIANA LAPHRIA.

Domitian. B. M.

Hadr. Imh. Loebbecke. (Q vi.)

L. Verus. B. M. Stuttgart. (Q vii.)

Commod. *Mus. Arig.* i. 7, 111.

Carac. B. M.

Artemis facing, clad in short chiton, right on hip, left rests on bow which is supported by low pedestal; beside her, dog.

Æ Carac. Berlin. Imh. (Q viii.)

Similar figure turned to right, bow rests on ground.

Æ Nero. Paris. (Q IX.) Inscr. DIANA LAPHRIA.

Artemis Laphria and Aphrodite of Corinth side by side.

Æ Commodus. B. M. Paris. Imh. (Q X.)

Artemis, carrying bow, in chariot drawn by four stags.

Æ Sept. Sev. *Mus. Arig.* II. 9, 98.

(It may be doubted if this supposed figure of Artemis be not her priestess as in Q XIII.)

Quiver with strap and hound.

Æ Nero. Bibl. Turin. Inscr. DEANA LAPHRIA.

The figure of Artemis Laphria on coins VI.—X. is almost unvaried; the only marked variation being that the bow rests in some cases on a high pedestal, in some cases on a low pedestal, in some cases on the ground. The goddess stands, her head slightly turned to her left, clad in a short chiton with diplois which leaves the right breast bare, a chlamys hanging over her left shoulder, high cothurni on her feet. Her hair is in a knot at the back; a quiver is at her shoulder. Her attitude is one of ease, yet not quite free from stiffness; the left knee slightly advanced, the right hand resting on her side; in the left hand a bow. The type is clearly a copy of the cultus-statue of Artemis Laphria; this is even proved to demonstration by coin No. X. where it appears side by side with the Aphrodite of the Corinthian acropolis. We thus arrive at an interesting result. It is distinctly stated by Pausanias that the cultus-image at Patrae was the work of Menaechmus and Soidas of Naupactus. On this Brunn (*Gr. K.* I. 112) remarks that its date must be earlier than the settlement of Naupactus by the Messenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. And Pausanias says that the sculptors must have lived not much after the archaic sculptors Callon of Aegina, and Canachus of Sicyon. But the statement of Pausanias seems exaggerated in view of the style of the figure on the coins, which may perhaps be assigned to the middle of the fifth century, but can with difficulty be given to an earlier date. In any case this will be one of the earliest statues which represent Artemis in Amazonian form, earlier than the statue of Strongylion (A I. II.), and as early as the rude relief from Asopus, *Arch. Zeitung* 1882, pl. VI. 1.

4.—Paus. VII. 19, 1. Ἰώνων τοῖς Ἀρόην καὶ Ἀνθειαν καὶ Μεσάτιν οἰκοῦσιν ἦν ἐν κοινῷ τέμενος καὶ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος

Τρικλαρίας ἐπὶ κλησιν, καὶ ἑορτὴν οἱ Ἴωνες αὐτῇ καὶ
παννυχίδα ἤγον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

20, 7. Τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἀντικρυς κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν διέξοδον
τέμενός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ναὸς Λιμνάτιδος.

Artemis running, holds torch and spear.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. Stag beside her. (Q XI.)

M. Aur. M. S. iv. 144, 160. Paris.

L. Verus. B. M. Dog at her feet.

Commodus. Vienna. Stag and dog at her feet.

Artemis? standing in short chiton, holds torch and spear or
thyrsus.

Æ Auton. St. Flor. p. 75, pl. II. 21. Leake. Paris. Imh. (Q XII.)

The same figure which Leake (*Eur.* p. 83) calls Bacchus; it
is not possible to say with certainty which of these deities is
intended. See above.

Artemis on horse, with inflated veil, riding right; before her,

Pan holding pedum, seated on rock.

Æ M. Aur. Sest. *Let. Num.* v. i. 13.

Sestini states that this coin, in the Cabinet de Chaudoir, is in
poor preservation. The description cannot therefore be relied on.

5.—Paus. VII. 18, 12. Πομπὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι
πομπεύουσι, καὶ ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος ὀχεῖται τελευταία
τῆς πομπῆς ἐπὶ ἐλάφῳ ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρμα ἐξευγμένῳ.

PRIESTESS in chariot drawn by two stags.

Æ M. Aur. B. M. Loebbecke. (Q XIII.)

Elagabalus. Mion. II. 197, 364.

6.—Paus. VII. 20, 2. Τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τῆς
Λαφρίας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Παναχαΐδος·
ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ. Cf. 20, 6; 20, 9.

PALLAS standing in distyle temple, owl beside her: holds patera
and lance, against which rests a shield.

Æ M. Aur. Mion. II. 195, 347. Paris. (Q XIV.)

M. Aur. M. S. iv. 143, 958.

Commod. M. S. iv. 146, 976, 977. Paris.

Pallas standing, holds spear and Victory.

Æ Hadr. M. S. iv. 141, 947.

Pallas standing, holds spear advanced and shield.

Æ Hadr. Leake, *Eur.* p. 84.

Hadr. Berlin. (Q XV.)

Sabina. B. M.

Pallas charging, holds spear and shield.

Æ Auton. (*Obv.* Head of Herakles.) B. M., &c.

Coin Q XIV. is particularly valuable. The image on it is
shewn by the temple in which it is enclosed to be a copy of a

cultus-image, probably of that of Athena Panachaïs. The figure of Athene holding in one hand a patera, in the other a spear appears on the coins of many of the cities of Peloponnesus, whether they had an ancient cult of Athena or not. We may account for this fact in either of two ways: (1) we may suppose that the various cities produced on their coins the widely-known type of the statue at Patrae, or (2) we may suppose that the cities commonly established within their own walls a shrine of Athena Panachaïs with a statue copied from the metropolitan statue of Patrae; and that these local imitations were again imitated on the coins. It may count against the second view that Pausanias mentions no other temples of Athena Panachaïs.

7.—Paus. VII. 20, 3. *Ἐρχομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄττης ἔχει τιμάς· τούτου μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἀποφαίνουσι· τὸ δὲ τῆς Μητρὸς λίθου πεποιήται.*

KYBELE seated; holds patera and sceptre; lion beside her.

Æ Commodus. Paris.

Female figure draped and turreted, holding a bunch of grapes in right hand and something in left, standing on cippus; on either side of her a similar figure appearing to grasp her, and to be dancing or leaping.

Æ Geta. Berlin. (Q XVI.)

This type, the details of which are somewhat obscure, seems clearly to refer to the orgiastic rites connected with the worship of Mater Dindymene.

8.—Paus. VII. 20, 3. *Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διὸς ναὸς Ὀλυμπίου, αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ ἐστῶσα Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ τὸν θρόνον.*

ZEUS seated in temple of six columns.

Æ Hadr. Mion. II. 194, 343.

Zeus seated, holds Victory and sceptre.

Æ Hadr. M. S. IV. 141, 946.

Commod. Mion. II. 196, 354. Imh. (Q XVII.)

Zeus seated, holds patera.

Æ M. Aur. Mus. Arig. I. 6, 87.

The Zeus on No. XVII. is of the usual Olympian type; compare the coins of Elis, P XX. XXI.

9.—Paus. VII. 20, 3. *Τῆς τε Ἥρας ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πέραν πεποιήται.*

HERA ? veiled, seated on throne with high back ; right hand advanced, in left pomegranate ?

Æ Hadr. B. M.

Aelius. Imh. (Q XVIII.)

The presence of the throne sufficiently proves that we have in this case a copy of a statue. That the figure is of Hera is however not certain. In the statue itself the arms would be both stretched forward, the backward turning of the left hand on the coin is probably only an attempt at perspective.

10.—Paus. VII. 20, 3. Ἱερὸν τε Ἀπόλλωνος πεποιήται, καὶ Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς γυμνὸς ἐσθήτος.

20, 6. Ἐχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ ᾠδεῖον, καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται θέας ἄξιος· ἐποιήθη δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἥνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν οἱ Πατρεῖς ἤμυναν Αἰτωλοῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι.

20, 9. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἄλσει καὶ ναοὶ θεῶν, Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης· πεποιήται λίθου καὶ τούτοις τὰ ἀγάλματα.

APOLLO naked, standing, his right hand extended, his left holding lyre which rests on base.

Æ Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 195, 344.

L. Verus. Mus. Arig. IV. No. 34, pl. VI. (Altar before him.)

Apollo seated, holds in raised right lyre, behind him cippus on which a bird.

Æ Domit. Mus. Arig. IV. pl. IV. 34.

The engraving in this work is inaccurately drawn and not trustworthy.

Apollo standing on basis, holds in right hand Victory, in left branch.

Æ M. Aur. M. S. IV. 143, 959.

Commod. M. S. IV. 149, 992.

It is unfortunate that we have been unable to procure a cast of the coin last mentioned, which might perhaps be a copy of the statue set up at the time of the Gaulish invasion. It is also not impossible, though such conjectures are very dangerous, that the Apollo γυμνὸς ἐσθήτος of Pausanias may be represented by the type of Apollo first mentioned, the naked Apollo with the lyre resting on a basis.

11.—Paus. VII. 21, 7. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ λιμένι Ποσειδῶνός τε ναὸς καὶ ἀγαλμά ἐστιν ὀρθὸν λίθου.

POSEIDON standing with one foot resting on rock ; holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Domit. Paris. Inscribed NEPTVNO.

Hadrian. Imh. (No dolphin.) (Q XIX.)

Commod. M. S. iv. 147, 983.

Sept. Sev. Paris. (Holds figure of Pallas and trident, but the coin is tooled and the figure of Pallas added.)

This type is shown by Q XXI. to be a copy of the statue mentioned in the text. No. XIX is varied in the omission of the dolphin, but otherwise is like the rest.

Poseidon standing, naked, thrusts with trident ; dolphin on extended left arm.

Æ Auton. (*Obv.* Head of Pallas.) B. M. (Q XX.)

Obv. Owl ; *Rev.* Trident.

Æ Auton.

View of harbour of Patrae ; in the foreground, vessels ; in the background figure of Poseidon (as above) in temple, and another temple.

Æ Sept. Sev. Sest. *Fontana*, pl. II. 16. Berlin. (Q XXI.)

Geta. *St. Flor.* pl. II. 22. Paris.

View of same harbour : in the foreground vessels and statue of Emperor ; in the background arcades surmounted by temples.

Æ Commod. Mion. II. 197, 359. Imh. (Q XXII.)

Gordian. III. M. S. iv. 156, 1035.

Gordian. III. Gessner, *Imp.* pl. 176.

View of same harbour from the land ; temples in foreground ; in background vessels and mole surmounted by tower and equestrian statue.

Æ Sept. Sev. Sest. *Fontana*, pl. II. 11. Vienna (Q XXIII.)

All these coins are discussed by Kenner, *St. Flor.* p. 78.

12.—Paus. VII. 20, 9. Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, πλὴν ἐσθῆτος, λίθου τὰ ἄλλα.

VII. 21, 14. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Πατρεῦσιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ· τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς αἰ ἐπὶ Μεσάτιν ἄγουσιν.

ASKLEPIUS standing, resting, as usual, on serpent-staff.

Æ Sabina. Berlin.

M. Aur. M. S. iv. 144, 962. Paris.

Commod. B. M. Berlin. (Q XXIV.)

13.—Paus. VII. 21, 10. Ἐν Πάτραις δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερά ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης.

Head of APHRODITE.

Æ Aut. B. M.

Eros embracing Psyche.

Æ Commod. Imh. *M. G.* p. 166.

- 14.—Paus. VII. 21, 10. "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα τοῦ λιμένος ἐγγυτάτω χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἄρεως, τὸ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος.

ARES standing, helmeted, holds spear and shield.

Æ M. Aur. Paris. (No shield.)

Sept. Sev. *M. S.* iv. 151, 1009.

- 15.—Paus. VII. 21, 13. Ἐν Πάτραις δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἄλσει καὶ ἱερὰ δύο ἐστὶ Σαράπιδος· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ πεποιήται μνῆμα Αἰγύπτου τοῦ Βήλου.

Head-dress of ISIS.

Æ Cleopatra. B. M. Imh.

- 16.—OTHER TYPES at Patrae.

Male figure naked, standing on a column in a circular enclosure.

Æ Galba. Berlin.

Domit. Naples. Paris.

Hadr. *M. S.* Loebbecke. (R I.)

Rome seated, holding standard, crowned by a warrior wearing helmet and holding spear.

Æ Domitian. Froehner. (R II.)

M. Aur., Commodus. Paris, &c.

Genius of the City; holds patera and cornucopiae at altar. (Sometimes inscribed GEN[ius].)

Æ Nero. Imh. B. M. Domit., &c.

Tyche of the city, turreted, holding cornucopiae.

Æ Verus, Commodus, &c.

Head of Tyche, with cornucopiae.

Herakles resting on club.

Æ Nero. Imh. Inscr. HERCVLI AVGVSTO.

M. Aur. B. M., &c.

Herakles holding club in both hands, lion's skin on left arm.

Æ Commodus. Bibl. Turin. (R III.)

Hermes seated, ram at his feet; holds purse and caduceus.

Æ Carac. B. M. Imh. Berlin.

Similar figure in temple.

Æ Commod. Mion. Berl. Carac. Imh. (R IV.) B. M. Berlin.

Hermes standing, ram at his feet; behind him, term.

Æ Verus. Berlin. (R V.)

Commod., Severus.

Juppiter Liberator (so inscribed):—

Zeus standing, holds eagle and sceptre.

Æ Nero. Paris.

Libertas, &c.

The figure of Hermes seated (**R** IV.) is closely similar to a type of Corinth (**F** CX., CXI.), but not identical, for at Patrae the god holds a purse in his right hand, which he does not at Corinth. In this case it is clear that either the people of Patrae copied their cultus-statue from that of the Corinthians, or the people of Corinth from the Patreans. The standing figure of Hermes (**R** V.) also nearly resembles one on a coin of Corinth (**E** LXXXVI.).

AEGIUM.

- 1.—Paus. VII. 23, 5. *Ἀγχιεῦσι δὲ Εἰλειθυίας ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον, καὶ ἡ Εἰλείθυια ἐς ἄκρους ἐκ κεφαλῆς τοὺς πόδας ὑφάσματι κεκάλυπται λεπτῷ, ξόανον πλὴν προσώπου τε καὶ χειρῶν ἄκρων καὶ ποδῶν· ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Πεντελησίου λίθου πεποιήται· καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ ἀνέχει δᾶδα. . . . ἔργον δὲ τοῦ Μεσσηνίου Δαμοφώντος ἐστὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα.*

EILEITHUIA facing, clad in long chiton with diplois, head wears polos; holds in raised right torch, in extended left hand another torch.

Æ Ant. Pius. B. M. *Mus. Arig.* II. 14, 155. Bibl. Turin. (**R** VI.)

L. Verus. *Mus. Arig.* I. 5, 76.

S. Sev. *Sest. Mus. Font.* p. 51, 4. Berlin.

Carac. Imh. (Position of arms transposed.)

Geta. Paris. (Figure turreted.) Inscr. ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ ΑCΙ (**R** VII.).

The identification of the figure on **R** VI., VII., as Eileithuia cannot be regarded as certain. If we accept the identification we must suppose that the word δᾶς has fallen out after ἐκτέταται, 'in one hand she holds out a torch, in the other holds up a torch': and in support of this emendation we may cite the occurrence of δᾶδας in the plural in the next line. On the other hand the Paris coin (**R** VII.) presents in this view difficulties. On it the head of the goddess wears a turreted crown, which seems inappropriate to Eileithuia. The final letters of the inscription on this coin are uncertain; all that is visible is ΑCΙ which may stand for 10 assaria, but may also be the beginning of some explanatory word like the ΖΕΥC ΜΕΓΑC, which occurs at Aegium beside the figure of Zeus. Nearly similar are the two figures on a coin of Argos, **K** XL., which are explained in the text as two Eileithuiaie.

The following may, perhaps, be a representation of Eileithuia:—

Female figure, hair in knot, and clad in long chiton with diplois; holds in extended right an object which may be a torch, her left hand hangs by her side.

Æ Auton. *Obv.* head of Artemis. B. M. Klagenfurt. (R VIII.)

Engraved in Wieseler's *Denkmaeler* (II. 57, 729) and Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.* CCCIX., 1, is a figure of Eileithuia professedly taken from a coin of Aegium. It is, however, evidently badly drawn, and appears to be rather a copy of a figure of Eileithuia or Demeter at Bura.

2.—Paus. VII. 23, 7. Τῆς δὲ Εἰλειθυίας οὐ μακρὰν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ ἀγάλματα Ὑγιείας καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. ἰαμβεῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τὸν Μεσσήνιον Δαμοφῶντα εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον φησίν.

ASKLEPIOS seated to right, on throne, himation falling from shoulder, holds in right hand sceptre; before him, serpent twined round altar.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. IV. 25, 146. Paris. (Said to hold Victory, but wrongly.)

Commodus. Berlin. (R IX.)

Sept. Sev. M. S. IV. 27, 158.

Hygieia standing; her right hand over altar, round which snake twines; in her left, patera.

Æ M. Aurel. Vienna.

Sept. Sev. Loebbecke. (R X.)

Asklepios seated, and Hygieia standing; between them, altar entwined by serpent.

Æ Commod. M. S. IV. 26, 152, 154. Paris. (R XI.)

There can be scarcely a doubt that these figures reproduce the group of Damophon; on all the coins the snake-entwined altar appears as a sort of identification; and the separate figures on IX. and X. are exactly reproduced in the group on XI. We thus gain definite and welcome information as to the style of Damophon, information which seems to show that in representing Asklepios he followed the type of the Zeus of Pheidias. In his Hygieia, also, which is of noble and majestic type, he seems to have followed the traditions of the best school. This confirms the view of Brunn (*Gr. K.*, I. 291), 'we shall not err in recognising in Damophon one of the most religious artists of his time, who endeavoured to retain art at that level of moral elevation to which it had been raised, principally by Pheidias.'

3.—Paus. VII. 23, 9. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Σωτήρος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τέμενος, καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐσελθόντων ἐν

ἀριστερᾷ χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφοτέρα, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔχον πω γένεια
ἐφαίνετο ἀρχαιότερον εἶναί μοι.

24, 4. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Αἰγιεῦσιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ
πεποιημένα, Ζεὺς τε ἡλικίαν παῖς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, οὐδὲ
οὗτος ἔχων πω γένεια, Ἀγελάδα τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου.

Archaic statue of ZEUS on basis, naked, without beard, holds
in raised right, thunderbolt, on extended left arm, eagle.

Æ Auton. *Obv.* Head of bearded Zeus. B. M. (R XII.) &c.

Ant. Pius. B. M. Paris.

Ant. Pius. Sest. Mus. Font. pl. iv. 2.

M. Aur. *Mion. S.* iv. 25, 144. Paris. (R XIII.)

Sept. Sev. Leake, Eur. p. 5.

The British Museum coin (R XII.) bears the inscription
ΗΜΙΟΒΕΛΙΝ (ἡμιωβόλιον), shewing its current value. The
inscription on the Fontana coin is in the engraving in the
Mus. Font., ΖΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ, the second word being indistinct,
so that there stood on the coin either ΖΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ or,
perhaps, ΖΕΥΣ ΩΤΗΡ. On the Paris coin (R XIII.) the
reading seems to be ΛΙΓΙΕΩΝ ΠΑΙΣ, 'the child of the people
of Aegae.' The figure of Zeus on both the coins on our plate
is beardless. There can be no question that this striding archaic
figure is intended to represent a statue; this is proved by the
basis or plinth, sometimes hung with wreaths, on which he
stands. A doubt may, however, be entertained which of the
statues of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias is here intended; he
speaks of two, both archaic, and both beardless. He seems to
ascribe one of the two to Ageladas of Argos, and our coin-type
is in attitude just like that which reproduces the statue by
Ageladas preserved at Messene (P v.). It is not important to
decide the question, as the attitude of the figure of Zeus on the
coins is quite conventional. The hinder foot does not rest flat
on the ground, but the heel is raised; and the anatomy of the
body is well rendered, but the treatment of the hair, which falls
in long curls, is archaic.

There seems insufficient foundation for Jahn's theory that
Zeus under this form is regularly Polieus.

Zeus as an infant suckled by the she-goat Amaltheia; on
either side, tree; above, eagle with spread wings.

Æ Auton. *Bull. dell' I.* 1843, p. 109. (*Streber, Denkschr. d. K. Acad. zu Münch.*
vii. pl. ii. 26.) *Bibl. Turin.* (R XIV.)

The proper home of the myth of Amaltheia was in Crete;
but there was probably at Aegium a local legend which in

some way connected the name of the city with her, Αἴγιον with αἶξ.

4.—Paus. VII. 24, 2. Καὶ τέταρτον Ὀμαγυρίῳ Διὶ. ἐνταῦθα Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματα. Ὀμαγύριος δὲ ἐγένετο τῷ Διὶ ἐπὶ κλησὶς, ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνων ἡθροισεν, κ.τ.λ.

24, 3. Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Ὀμαγυρίῳ Διὶ Παναχαϊᾶς ἐστὶ Δήμητρος.

Æ of Achaean League :—

Obv. Zeus standing, naked ; holds Nike and long sceptre (R xv.).

Rev. Female figure seated, holds wreath and long sceptre (R xvi.).

Æ Geta. Zeus as above. M. S. iv. 30, 168.

As all the bronze coins of the Achaean League bear these types, they would seem to represent the principal deities of the place of meeting of the League. After the destruction of Helice, this was Aegium, and solemn sacrifices were offered to the principal deities of that city. It seems that the historical associations connected with Zeus Homagyrus made him a peculiarly suitable patron-deity for the League.

The figure on the coin, a naked Zeus, holding Victory in his hand, may well be a copy of a statue set up in this temple in the days of the revival of the League, or possibly at an earlier period. The figure of the reverse may, perhaps, be Demeter Panachaia, but it certainly has none of the attributes of Demeter. It would therefore be preferable to regard it as representing not Demeter but Achaia personified. Similarly Aetolia appears on coins of the Aetolian League, Bithynia on those of the Bithynian kings, Roma on those of Rome, &c.

The following is certainly Demeter :—

Demeter standing, holds in right hand poppies and corn, in left hand, sceptre.

Æ L. Verus. Leake, *Suppl. Eur.* p. 111. (R xvii.)

Zeus naked, standing, holds eagle and long sceptre, held transversely, garment over left arm.

Æ L. Verus. *Arig.* I. Imp. v. 76.

Carac. M. S. iv. 28, 159. Paris. (R xviii.)

Zeus seated, holds Victory and sceptre.

Æ Plautilla. Pellerin, *Mélanges*, i. pl. 1, 8.

Head of Zeus, right, laur.

Æ Anton. Vienna. (R xix.) Imh. B. M. Inscribed HMIOBEΛIN.

A very unusual type of head for Zeus.

- 5.—Paus. VII. 23, 9. *Λίγιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τε ναὸς καὶ Ἥρας ἔστιν ἄλλος. Ἀθηνᾶς μὲν δὴ δύο ἀγάλματα λευκοῦ λίθου. Cf. 23, 10. Ἔστι μὲν Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, ἔστι δὲ Ζεὺς τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ, θεοὺς δὲ σφὰς καλοῦσιν ἐξ Ἀργους.*

PALLAS standing, holds spear and shield which rests on the ground.

- Æ M. Aurel. *Mus. Arig.* II. 14, 154. (Pallas unhelmeted ?)
Commod. *Sest. Princ. Danimarca*, 18, 1.
Carac. Berlin. (R xx.)

This type of Athene is not usual in Peloponnese; it is quite different from the usual Athene Panachaea (Q xiv.).

- 6.—Paus. VII. 24, 1. *Λίγιεῦσι δὲ ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν κοινῷ. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, τοξευούσῃ δὲ εἵκασται.*

Artemis clad in short chiton; in her raised right, torch; in her left, which rests on pillar, a bow; dog at her feet.

- Æ Ant. Pius. Imh. (R xxi.)
Sept. Sev. Berlin.

Artemis running, her veil floating round her head; holds torch in each hand: at her feet, dog (which, however, looks more like a peacock).

- Æ Domna. Imh. (R xxii.)

Τοξευούσῃ δὲ εἵκασται reminds us of the phrase used by Pausanias of Artemis Laphria at Patrae; and the figure on R xxi. is apparently a variation on the archaic Laphria of Menaechnus and Soidas, the goddess holding a torch in her right hand, instead of resting it on her side.

- 7.—Paus. VII. 24, 2. *Πρὸς θαλάσσῃ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐν Αἰγίῳ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Ποσειδῶνος.*

POSEIDON standing, his right foot on a rock, his right hand resting on trident.

- Æ Commodus. M. S. iv. 27, 155.

APHRODITE naked, arranging her tresses; at her feet, dolphin.
Æ Faustina Jun. Griolet at Geneva. (R xxiii.)

8.—OTHER TYPES at Aegium.

Phthia advancing right, her peplum flying, before her, dove of colossal size.

- Æ Auton. B. M. (R xxiv.) Eckhel, *N. V.* p. 118.

For the story of Phthia and the dove, see Athenaeus, p. 395a.
This is, with one doubtful exception (Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.*

II. p. 415), the only representation of the myth of Phthia. It has already been rightly explained by Khell and Eckhel.

River-god reclining; holds vase and reed.

Æ Auton. Eckhel, *N. V.* 118. Vienna.

Head of Aegium turreted, inscribed ΑΙΓΙΟΝ.

Æ Auton. Vienna.

Sarapis and Fortune, side by side.

Æ M. Aur. Kenner, *St. Flor.* p. 59, pl. II. 8.

Turreted female figure, holds sceptre and cornucopiac.

Æ M. Aur. Sept. Sev. Plantilla.

Carac. Loebbecke.

HELICE.

1.—Paus. VII. 24, 5. *Ἐνταῦθα ἄκητο Ἑλίκη πόλις, καὶ Ἰωσιν ἱερὸν ἀγιώτατον Ποσειδῶνος ἦν Ἑλικωνίου.*

Obv. Head of POSEIDON in circle of waves.

Rev. Trident between fishes in wreath.

Æ Auton. Fourth century. *Z. f. N.* VII. pl. VIII. 6.

BURA.

1.—Paus. VII. 25, 9. *Τῆς Βούρας ἐγένοντο οἰκισταί. Ναὸς ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος, ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Διονύσου τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἄλλος Εἰλειθυίας. Λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησίου τὰ ἀγάλματα, Ἀθηναίου δὲ ἔργα Εὐκλείδου· καὶ τῇ Δήμητρὶ ἐστὶν ἐσθής.*

DEMETER or EILEITHUIA, clad in long chiton and himation; right hand raised; in left, torch.

Æ Caracalla. Munich.

Geta. B. M. (S I.)

APHRODITE partly nude; holds sceptre.

Æ Domna. Mion. II. 165, 128. (Vaillant.)

It is not certain whether the figure on S I. is of Demeter or of Eileithuia. The outstretched right hand would tell rather in favour of the latter attribution, it being very usual to find on vases figures of Eileithuia with outstretched hands, a gesture intended to indicate a smooth course in childbirth. The phrase of Pausanias strictly taken would seem to assert that the figure of Demeter alone was draped, those of Aphrodite, Dionysus, and Eileithuia all undraped; but it can scarcely be supposed that Eileithuia would be nude. As to Euclides of Athens see Brunn (*Gr. K.* I. p. 274), who conjectures that he worked for the people of Bura when they restored their city soon after its destruction in B.C. 373. In

that case he would be a contemporary of Damophon, a period which will very well suit the figure on **S I.** We shall return to Eucleides under Ægira.

2.—Paus. VIII. 25, 10. Καταβάντων δὲ ἐκ Βούρας ὡς ἐπὶ θύλασσαν ποταμός τε Βουραϊκὸς ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς οὐ μέγας ἐστὶν ἐν σπηλαίῳ ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν καὶ τούτου Βουραϊκός.

Temple on a hill, in the side of which is a portico, and a cave within which statue of Herakles, spear? in raised right hand; below, a vase.

Æ Geta. Prok.-Osten, *A. Z.* 1843, pl. ix. 14.
Athens. (**S II.**) Vienna.

HERAKLES bearded, standing; raised club in right hand, lion's skin in left; behind him, bow.

Æ Geta. Mion. II. 166, 129.
Geta. Vienna. (**S III.**)

There is an apparent discrepancy between the type of the figure in the shrine or cave on **S II.** and the figure of Herakles on **S III.** The former seems to hold a spear, and is so described by v. Duhn in *Mittheil. d. d. Inst. Ath.* III. 62; the latter clearly holds a club. But considering the very small size of the figure on **S II.** we can scarcely insist upon this apparent difference. It is likely that in both cases a figure of Herakles is intended, of which figure **S III.** gives us, of course, the best idea. This figure is of stiff and decidedly archaic type, dating from not later than the middle of the fifth century. The antiquity of the Buraic cultus of Herakles is shewn by its seat being in a cave, and by the survival in connection with it of a primitive oracle by lot. Beside the cave on **S II.** is a portico, and above it, on the top of the hill, a temple, no doubt of one of the deities mentioned by Pausanias in the passage above quoted.

ÆGIRA.

1.—Paus. VII. 26, 3. Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας ἐποιήσαντο ἱερόν, τὸ σόφισμα ἐς τοὺς Σικυωνίους οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος σφισιν ἐπελθεῖν νομίζοντες. . . . Ἀρτέμιδος τε ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τέχνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν.

VII. 26, 11. Θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστίν· ἡ μὲν χαλκοῦ πεποιήται, βέλος δὲ ἐκ φαρέτρας λαμβάνουσα.

ARTEMIS as huntress, standing; holds in left, bow, and with

right hand draws arrow from quiver; at her feet, dog looking up.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. Munich. (S IV.) M. S. IV. 22, 128.

In Sest. *Lett. Num. Cont.* v. p. 11 Artemis is said to hold a torch in place of the bow on coins of Plautilla.

Similar figure of Artemis running.

Æ Plautilla. Berlin. (S V.)

The phrase τέχνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν would well characterize either of these figures.

Deer.

Æ Auton. B. M.

2.—Paus. VII. 26, 4. Παρείχετο δὲ ἡ Αἴγαιρα ἐς συγγραφὴν ἱερὸν Διὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον, λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησίου, Ἀθηναίου δὲ ἔργον Εὐκλείδου.

ZEUS seated, in attitude of the Olympian deity; holds Victory and sceptre.

Æ Sep. Sev. Sest. *Lett. Num. Cont.* VIII. p. 2, No. 2.

Plautilla. B. M. (S VI.) Sest. *l.c.* No. 4.

Plautilla. Leake, *Eur. Sup.* p. 111.

This representation, though of very ordinary character, yet, if we suppose it a copy of Eucleides' work, has interest as shewing that Eucleides adhered to the Pheidian school in his statue of Zeus, as indeed we might suppose from his representing a seated Zeus at all. Eucleides was probably a contemporary of Damophon, and he seems, if we may judge from the very slight evidence which remains (see under Bura), to have followed the same tendencies.

3.—Paus. VII. 26, 4. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε· πρόσωπόν τε καὶ ἄκραι χεῖρες ἐλέφαντος καὶ οἱ πόδες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ξόανον χρυσῷ τε ἐπιπολῆς διηνητισμένον ἐστὶ καὶ φαρμάκοις.

PALLAS standing, holds spear, and shield which rests on the ground.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris. Loebbecke. (S VII.)

Plautilla. *Mus. Arig.* IV. pl. XIII. No. 54.

Compare **R** XX. and our remarks on it.

4.—Paus. VII. 26, 7. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματα ὁρθὰ ἐστὶν ἐν ναῷ, καὶ Σαράπιδος ἐτέρωθι καὶ Ἰσίδος, λίθου καὶ ταῦτα Πεντελησίου.

ASKLEPIUS standing as usual.

Æ Plautilla. M. S. IV. 22, 129; 29, 166. Paris.

Head of Asklepius.

Æ Auton. Mion. II. 164, 118.

ΑΣΚΛΗ in wreath (Asklepieia, the Games).

Æ Auton. Sest. *Lct. Num.* IX. pl. I. 32.

Hygieia standing.

Geta. *St. Flor.* p. 61, pl. II. 9.

5.—Paus. VII. 26, 8. Οἶδα καὶ οἶκημα ἐν Αἰγείρᾳ θεασάμενος· ἀγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι Τύχης, τὸ κέρας φέρουσα τὸ Ἀμαλθείας· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἔρως πτερὰ ἔχων ἐστίν.

TYCHE turreted; holds sceptre and cornucopiae.

Æ Plautilla. M. S. IV. 22, 131. Paris.

Plautilla. Berlin. Loebbecke. (S VIII.)

Tyche as above, face to face with Eros winged, who stands with legs crossed leaning on a long torch or staff: between them, altar entwined by serpent?

Æ Plautilla. Berlin. (S IX.)

In this case, the juxtaposition of Tyche with Eros shews that both figures are intended as copies of the statues.

PELLENE.

1.—Paus. VII. 27, 2. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς λίθου μὲν ἐπιχωρίου ναός, ἐλέφαντος δὲ τὸ ἀγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ· Φειδίαν δὲ εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον φασί, πρότερον ἔτι ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τε αὐτὸν τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ποιῆσαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ ἀγάλματα.

PALLAS clad in long chiton, thrusting with lance, and holding before her oval shield.

Æ Sept. Sev. Bibl. Turin. (S x.) *Mus. Arig.* IV. No. 52, pl. XI.

Domna. Paris.

Plautilla. *St. Flor.* p. 79.

This is a most interesting illustration of what Pausanias considered to be the early style of Pheidias. The character of the figure on our coin is far earlier than the Athenian statues of Pallas by Pheidias, and in type approaches such figures as the Athene Chalciocetus **N** XIII., or the statue by Dipoenus and Scyllis at Cleonae **H** I. The device on the shield of the goddess is on our coin (**S** x.) not clear, it looks like the upper part of a human figure; in the *Arigoni Cat.* it is drawn as the upper part of a Giant or Triton. It may very probably be only a winged Gorgoneion. The hair of the goddess seems to fall in a queue behind; her closely-fitting chiton is divided

into a set of vertical bands, which bands may possibly have been adorned with scenes in relief, as in the case of the Pallas of Gitiadas; her aegis falls over her bosom as a breast-plate. The type is fully discussed by Kenner (*St. Flor.* p. 79).

2.—Paus. VII. 27, 3. Τοῦ δὲ ἄλλους τῆς Σωτήρας ἱερὸν ἀπαντικρὺ Διούσου Λαμπτήρός ἐστιν ἐπὶ κλησιν· τούτῳ καὶ Λαμπτήρια ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι, καὶ δᾶδός τε ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν κομίζουσιν ἐν νυκτί, καὶ οἶνον κρατήρας ἰστᾶσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν.

DIONYSUS clad only in cothurni, standing; holds in right, wine-cup, in left, long thyrsos or torch, bound with fillet.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (S XI.) *Mus. Sanct.* N. S. II. 25, 222.

3.—Paus. VII. 27, 4. Ἔστι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Θεοξενίου Πελληνεῦσιν ἱερὸν, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦ πεποιήται· Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος· τοξευούσης δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρέχεται σχῆμα. Cf. 27, 3.

Head of APOLLO.

Æ Auton.

ARTEMIS clad in short chiton, running, holds arrow or torch and bow, quiver at shoulder; in front, stag, behind, dog.

Æ Sept. Sev. *Mus. Sanct.* N. S. II. p. 288.

Carac. B. M. (S XII.)

This precise type of Artemis, and the stag and dog on either side of her, forming as it were supporters, appears also on the coins of Corinth, **D** LXVI.-LXVIII.; and at that city is proved to be a copy of a statue by its appearance on coins in a temple.

4.—Paus. VII. 27, 11. Ἀπωτέρω δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυσαίου ἱερὸν ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καλούμενον Κῦρος, καὶ ἰάματα ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται.

ASKLEPIUS standing: holds serpent-staff, left hand wrapped in himation.

Æ S. Sev. *Mus. Arig.* IV. No. 55, pl. XIV.

Domna. M. S. IV. 158, 1041. Paris.

Domna. Munich. (S XIII.)

This is a variety on the usual representations of Asklepius: the deity holds the serpent-staff differently.

OTHER TYPES at Pellene.

Zeus standing, naked, holds in right, long sceptre.

Æ Sept. Sev. Berlin. (S XIV.)

Carac. B. M. (Cf. Paus. VII. 27, 8.)

Tyche, holds *patera* and *cornucopiae*.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. Loebbecke.
Geta. B. M.

Nike.

Æ Caracalla. Imh.

The Zeus is like the standing figure of that deity at Argos,

K XXVIII.

ARCADIA.

1.—Paus. VIII. 2, 6. Ὁ Πελασγός· ὁ δὲ τὸν καρπὸν τῶν δρυῶν οὔτι που πασῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς βαλάνους τῆς φηγοῦ τροφήν ἐξεῦρεν εἶναι.

ACORN. (Coins of Mantinea.)

Æ Auton. Fifth century. B. M. &c.

2.—Paus. VIII. 3, 6. Ἐποίησεν ἄρκτον τὴν Καλλιστώ, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ἐς χάριν τῆς Ἥρας κατετόξευσεν αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς Ἑρμῆν πέμπει σῶσαι τὸν παῖδά οἱ προστάξας, ὃν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ εἶχεν ἡ Καλλιστώ.

ARCAS. See below, under Mantinea.

BEAR. See below, under Mantinea.

CALLISTO. See Orchomenus, Methydrion.

HERMES AND ARCAS. See Pheneus.

MANTINEIA.

1.—Paus. VIII. 9, 1. Ἔστι δὲ Μαντινεῦσι ναὸς διπλοῦς μάλιστα που κατὰ μέσον τοίχῳ διειργόμενος· τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τέχνη Ἀλκαμένους.

ASKLEPIUS standing, serpent-staff under left shoulder.

Æ S. Sev. and Carac. M. II. 249, 33, 35.

Domna. Loebbecke. (S xv.)

Plautilla. B. M.

Hygieia standing.

Æ Domna. M. II. 249, 34.

The figure of Asklepius is of the usual conventional character, just like the Megarean type **A** VI. We should naturally expect the statue of Alcamenes to be seated; and there is no special reason to suppose that the figure on the coin reproduces a statue.

2.—Paus. VIII. 9, 1. Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λητοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἰργάσατο τρίτῃ μετὰ Ἀλκαμένην ὕστερον γενεᾷ. Cf. 54, 5. Μετὰ δὲ ἐκτραπείσιν ἐς ἄριστερά ὅσον στάδιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Πυθίου καταλελυμένον ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἐρείπια ἐς ἄπαν.

APOLLO clad in long chiton and himation, holds in right, plectrum, in left, lyre which rests on column.

Æ Domna. B. M.

Plautilla. B. M. (S XVI.) Munich.

Head of Apollo.

Æ Auton.

ARTEMIS advancing, accompanied by her dog.

Æ Sept. Sev. M. S. IV. 280, 47.

Plautilla. M. S. IV. 280, 52.

Artemis clad in short chiton, holds torch in each hand.

Æ Plautilla. M. S. IV. 280, 53. Paris. (S XVII.)

Plautilla. Leake, *Eur. Sup.* p. 132.

We can scarcely venture to connect these types with the statues of Praxiteles.

3.—Paus. VIII. 9, 2. *Μαντινεῦσι δέ ἐστι καὶ ἄλλα ἱερά, τὸ μὲν Σωτήρος Διός, τὸ δὲ Ἐπιδώτου καλουμένου.*

ZEUS naked facing, in right, long sceptre, left hand on hip.

Æ Geta. Paris.

4.—Paus. VIII. 9, 2. *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διοσκούρων . . . ἱερόν.*

Altar or edifice; over the top of which appear the heads and shoulders of the DIOSCURI wearing pilei, one hand raised, spears over shoulders.

Æ Auton. Fourth century. B. M.

Imh. *Mon. Gr.* p. 199. (S XVIII.)

The obverse of this coin is as follows:—

Fisherman? wearing conical pileus, clothes girt round waist, and boots with toes turned up; carries two lances.

Æ Auton. Fourth century. B. M. Photiades Coll. (S XIX.)

Imh. *Mon. Gr.* pp. 199, 200.

Æ Auton. Ibid.

Both of these types are, on coins of so early a period, of unexampled singularity. They are discussed by Imhoof *l.c.* One of the most curious features of the supposed fisherman are his boots, which are not merely turned up, but seem to end in serpents; his clothes too are girt up in an extraordinary fashion.

5.—Paus. VIII. 9, 3. *Πρὸς δὲ τῆς Ἡρας τῷ βωμῷ καὶ Ἀρκάδος τάφος τοῦ Καλλιστοῦς ἐστι.*

Bearded head of warrior, ARCAS?

Æ Auton.

Arcas as an infant, seated.

Æ Auton. Photiades Coll.

Arcas? standing; rests right hand on bearded Term; in left, spear.

Æ Sept. Sev. Berlin. (S XX.)

The terminal figure may signify a tomb, as on coins of Sicyon
H I. II. And in that case the hero standing may well be
 Arcas. Local heroes of the *Ktistes* class are very frequently
 represented on coins of Peloponnesus.

6.—Paus. VIII. 9, 7. Σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖαν Ἀλέαν, καὶ
 ἱερόν τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηναῖς ἐστὶν Ἀλέας αὐτοῖς.

Head of PALLAS, helmeted.

Æ Auton.

7.—Paus. VIII. 9, 7. Ἐνομήσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀντίνοῦς σφίσιν εἶναι
 θεός· ναῶν δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ νεώτατός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ Ἀντίνου
 ναός. τιμὰς δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ κατὰ τοιόνδε
 ἔσχηκε. γένος ἦν ὁ Ἀντίνοῦς ἐκ (Βιθυνίου πόλεως)
 Βιθυνίας τῆς ὑπὲρ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ· οἱ δὲ Βιθυνεῖς
 Ἀρκάδες τέ εἰσι καὶ Μαντινεῖς τὰ ἄνωθεν.

Æ Obv. Bust of ANTINOUS.

Rev. Free horse.

Inscribed ΕΤΟΥΡΙΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΡΚΑΔΙ.

The horse is a symbol of the heroic honours paid to
 Antinous.

Bridled horse.

Æ Caracalla. Berlin.

8.—Paus. VIII. 10, 2. Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ
 Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι τοῦ Ἰππίου τὸ ἱερόν, οὐ πρόσω σταδίου
 Μαντινείας· τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱερόν τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὠκοδομήσατο
 Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεύς.

POSEIDON seated left, on rock, holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Auton. B. M.

Poseidon naked, striding with trident; sometimes a dragon
 before him.

Æ Auton. B. M.

Trident.

Æ Auton.

9.—OTHER TYPES at Mantinea.

Tyche; holds patera and cornucopiae, at altar.

Æ Plautilla. Imh. &c.

Nike running: holds wreath.

Æ Plautilla. Berlin.

ORCHOMENUS.

1.—Paus. VIII. 13, 1. Ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ Ἀγχι-
 σίων, ἐν ὑπτίῳ τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι τῆς Ὑμνίας
 Ἀρτέμιδος.

13, 2. Πρὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει ξόανόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος ἵδρυται
δὲ ἐν κέδρῳ μεγάλῃ, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς
κέδρου Κεδρεατίν.

ARTEMIS standing, clad in long chiton, shooting arrow from bow.
Æ Auton. B. M. (S XXI.)

Obv. Artemis wearing petasus and short chiton, kneeling;
right rests on the ground, in left hand, bow, from which
she has just discharged an arrow; behind her, dog
seated (S XXII.).

Rev. CALLISTO with bosom bare, seated, and falling backward;
in her bosom an arrow; beside her, Arcas playing.

Æ Auton. B. M. &c. (S XXIII.)
Imh. *Mon. Gr.* p. 203. (Arcas lying.)

Cf. below, VIII. 35, 8.

Artemis clad in short chiton; holds in either hand a torch;
dog at her feet.

Æ Sept. Sev. *Mus. Arig.* i. Imp. 7, 104.

Domna. *Mus. Arig.* ii. Imp. 21, 289, 290.

Domna. Imh. (S XXIV.) Munich. (Artemis turned the other way.)

Artemis? seated on throne; her right hand resting on throne;
in her left a parazonium.

Æ Auton. Prok.-Osten, *Ined.* 1854, p. 45. Imh.

We cannot venture to identify the various types of Artemis.
The figure holding two torches (S XXIV.) nearly resembles that
at Mantinea (S XVII.), and that at Caphyae (T XIV.). The
figure described by Prokesch-Osten as a seated Artemis must
almost certainly be a personification of Arcadia.

2.—Paus. VIII. 13, 2. Καὶ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι καὶ
Ἀφροδίτης ἱερά· λίθου δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα.

POSEIDON standing, holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Domna. M. S. iv. 284, 70.

Female figure draped, resting right arm on column, holds in
left, apple or helmet? (Venus Victrix?)

Æ Domna. M. S. iv. 284, 69.

Domna. Leake, *Eur. Sup.* p. 136. Loebbecke. (T I.)

3.—OTHER TYPES at Orchomenus.

Dionysus standing, holding wine-cup; beneath the left arm,
stump of tree, panther at his feet.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. Paris. (T II.) Munich (Without tree).

Apollo in long drapery, leaning on tripod.

Æ Sept. Sev.

Asklepius standing.

Æ Sept. Sev., Carac.

Tyche, holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Carac.

Two Satyrs facing; one holds grapes and pedum, the other krater over shoulder.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (T III.)

Hero, holding spear and shield.

Æ Auton.

PHENEUS.

1.—Paus. VIII. 14, 5. . . . Ὀδυσσέα ἔφασαν . . . ἰδρύσασθαι μὲν ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ Εὐρίππαν ὀνομάσαι τὴν θεὸν, ἔνθα τῆς Φενεατικῆς χώρας εὖρε τὰς ἵππους.

Obv. Head of Artemis.

Rev. Horse feeding.

Æ Auton. B. M.

2.—Paus. VIII. 14, 10. Θεῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἑρμῆν Φενεᾶται μάλιστα, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσιν Ἑρμαῖα, καὶ ναός ἐστιν Ἑρμοῦ σφισι καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθον· τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, Εὐχαιρ Εὐβουλίδου.

HERMES naked, carrying in one hand, caduceus, in the other, young Arcas; inser. ΑΡΚΑΣ.

Æ Auton. Fourth century. B. M. Loebbecke. (T IV.) Berlin. (T V.)

Hermes wearing petasos and chlamys, seated on rock; holds in right, caduceus, left rests on rock.

Æ Auton. Fourth century. B. M. Imh. Paris.

Hermes standing: holds purse and caduceus; wears chlamys; before him, term.

Æ Carac. M. S. 286, 88. Berlin. Imh. (T VI.)

Plautilla. M. S. 287, 88.

Geta. Loebbecke.

Head of Hermes; caduceus.

Æ Auton.

The autonomous coins (T IV. and V.) give us no doubt a group invented by the die-sinker, and not a copy of any sculptural work. T VI., on the other hand, seems, from the presence of the Term, to be a reproduction of a statue, very possibly that of Eucheir, who was, as Brunn (*Gr. Kün.*, I. 551) maintains, an artist of early imperial times, or thereabouts. The general type is not unlike that of the Hermes on the Ephesian Column, a type widely spread in Roman times (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* III. 96).

- 3.—Paus. VIII. 15. Φευεάταις δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἐλευσινίας, καὶ ἄγουσι τῇ θεῷ τελετήν, τὰ Ἐλευσῖνι δρώμενα καὶ παρὰ σφίσι τὰ αὐτὰ φάσκοντες καθεστηκέναι.

Head of DEMETER.

Æ Auton. Fourth century.

HADES seated, Cerberus at his feet.

Æ Carac. Mion. II. 252, 55. M. S. IV. 286, 82.

Plautilla. Paris.

Hades standing, Cerberus beside him.

Æ Plautilla. M. S. IV. 287, 86.

DIONYSUS standing, naked, holds wine-cup and grapes, rests left arm on tree: beside him, panther.

Æ Carac. Munich. (T VII.) Paris.

Plautilla. B. M. *St. Flor.* p. 96.

Dionysus; holds kantharos and thyrsos.

Æ Carac. M. S. IV. 287, 85.

Mion. II. 252, 54.

Geta. M. S. IV. 228, 89. Paris.

Bearded Satyr, Marsyas? naked, right hand raised.

Æ S. Severus. Rhousopoulos. (T VIII.) Paris.

CLEITOR.

- 1.—Paus. VIII. 21, 3. Κλειτορίοις δὲ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα Δήμητρος, τὸ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

DEMETER? standing; holds patera and long sceptre.

Æ Domna. B. M. (T IX.)

On *obv.* Head of Domna as Demeter, holding cornucopiae.

ASKLEPIOS standing.

Æ Domna. M. S. IV. 277, 35.

- 2.—Paus. VIII. 21, 4. Κλειτορίοις δὲ καὶ Διοσκούρων καλουμένων δὲ Θεῶν Μεγάλων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ὅσον τέσσαρα ἀπέχον στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς χαλκᾷ.

Naked HORSEMAN on horse galloping.

Æ Auton. Fifth century.

This horseman may be intended for one of the Dioscuri.

- 3.—Paus. VIII. 21, 4. Πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ὄρους κορυφῆς σταδίοις τριάκοντα ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς Κορίας.

Head of ATHENE.

Æ Auton.

- 4.—OTHER TYPES at Cleitor.

Head of Helios.

R Æ Auton.

Tyche standing at altar; holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Plautilla.

STYMPHALUS.

1.—Paus. VIII. 22, 7. Ἐν Στυμφήλῳ δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον Στυμφηλίας· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξόανόν ἐστι τὰ πολλὰ ἐπίχρυσον. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῷ ὀρόφῳ πεποιημένοι καὶ αἱ Στυμφηλίδες εἰσὶν ὄρνιθες· σαφῶς μὲν οὖν χαλεπὸν ἦν διαγνῶναι πότερον ξύλου ποίημα ἦν ἢ γύψου, τεκμαιρομένοις δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ξύλου μᾶλλον ἢ γύψου.

VIII. 22, 5. Αὐταὶ μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ γέρανόν εἰσιν αἱ ὄρνιθες, εἰκόασι δὲ ἴβεσι, ῥάμφη δὲ ἀλκιμώτερα φέρουσι καὶ οὐ σκολιά, ὥσπερ αἱ ἴβεις.

Head of ARTEMIS Stymphalia crowned with laurel.

R Æ Auton. Fourth century.

Head of Stymphalian bird.

R Auton. Fourth century. B. M. &c. Imh. (T x.)

Same head emerging from reeds.

R Auton. B. M. (T xl.) &c.

HERAKLES naked, striking with club; in his left hand, bow and lion's skin.

R Auton. B. M. (T xii.) &c.

Head of Herakles.

R Auton.

It is interesting to compare the birds' heads on the coins T x., xl., with the exact description of Pausanias. They are an extreme instance of the dislike of the Greeks for monstrous forms, reducing the terrible Stymphalian birds of the tale to mere ordinary water-fowl. It is very curious, too, that Herakles should be represented as attacking these birds with club rather than bow.

ALEA.

1.—Paus. VIII. 23, 1. Θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ αὐτόθι Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν Ἐφεσίας καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Ἀλέας.

Obv. Head of ARTEMIS.

Rev. ΑΛ Strung bow.

R and Æ Auton. B. M. Imh.

Obv. Head of ATHENA.

Rev. ΑΛΕΑ in wreath.

Æ Auton. Paris.

CAPHYAE.

- 1.—Paus. VIII. 23, 3. Καφνύταις δὲ ἱερὰ θεῶν Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι καὶ ἐπὶ κλησιν Κνακαλησίας Ἀρτέμιδος. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὄρος Κνάκαλος, ἐνθα ἐπέτειον τελετὴν ἄγουσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.

POSEIDON standing, holds dolphin, and trident transversely, himation wrapped round waist.

Æ Domna. Paris. Berlin. (T XIII.) M. S. IV. 275, 27.

- 2.—Paus. 23, 6. Καφνῶν δὲ ἀφ' ἑστήκεν ὅσον στάδιον Κονδυλέα χωρίον, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἄλσος καὶ ναός ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα καλουμένης Κονδυλεάτιδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

ARTEMIS facing, clad in short chiton, a quiver at her shoulder, holds torch in each hand.

Æ Auton. M. S. IV. 275, 24.

Sept. Sev. B. M. Leake, *Eur. Sup.* p. 119.

Domna. M. S. IV. 276, 29. Imh. (T XIV.)

- 3.—OTHER TYPES at Caphyae.

Demeter standing, holds poppy-head and corn-ears.

Æ Auton. Imh. (T XV.) Prok.-Ost. *Inedita* 1854, p. 44.

Demeter, or Artemis, clad in long chiton, holds a torch in right hand.

Æ Carac. M. S. IV. 276, 31.

Female figure, indistinct, running, a serpent arched over her head; holds in right, head of serpent.

Æ Domna. Paris. (T XVI.)

Apollo naked, facing, holds in right hand, branch; in left, which rests on tripod, a scroll.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. Loebbecke. (T XVII.)

Asklepios standing.

Æ Geta. Berlin

Tyche, holds patera and cornucopiae, at altar.

Æ Sept. Sev., Plautilla. Paris, &c.

PSOPHIS.

- 1.—Paus. VIII. 24, 1. Ψωφίδος δὲ οἱ μὲν φασιν οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι Ψωφίδα τὸν Ἀρρωνος τοῦ Ἐρυμάνθου τοῦ Ἀρίστα τοῦ Παρθάονος τοῦ Περιφύτου τοῦ Νυκτίμου· τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένα θυγατέρα Ψωφίδα εἶναι Ξάνθου τοῦ Ἐρυμάνθου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος.

Bust of nymph PSOPHIS wearing wreath, sceptre on shoulder.

Æ Geta. *Mus. Sanclem.* III. pl. 27, 263.

- 2.—Paus. VIII. 24, 5. Λεγεται δὲ ὡς Ἡρακλῆς κατὰ πρόσ-
ταγμα Εὐρυσθέως παρὰ τῷ Ἐρυμάνθῳ θηράσειεν ὕν
μεγέθει καὶ ἀλκῇ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερηρκότα.

Obv. Head of HERAKLES bearded, laur.

Rev. Boar running.

Æ Auton. Paris. Imh. Sest., *Mus. Font.* pl. i. 16.

- 3.—Paus. VIII. 24, 12. Ψωφιδίοις δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἐρυμάνθῳ
ναός ἐστιν Ἐρυμάνθου καὶ ἄγαλμα.

River-god Erymanthus reclining, naked to waist, holds in
right, branch, rests left elbow on vase; below, fish.

Æ Domna. M. S. iv. 291, 106. Imh. (T XVIII.)

- 4.—Paus. VIII. 21, 2. Εἰσὶ δὲ ἰχθύς ἐν τῷ Ἀροανίῳ καὶ ἄλλοι
καὶ οἱ ποικιλίαι καλούμενοι τούτους λέγουσι τοὺς
ποικιλίας φθέγγεσθαι κίχλη τῇ ὄρνιθι ἑοικός.

Fish.

Æ Auton. Fifth century.

- 5.—Paus. VIII. 23, 8. Ἐπὶ δρυμὸν ἀφίξῃ Σόρωνα διὰ τε
Ἀργεαθῶν καὶ Λυκούντων καλουμένων καὶ Σκοτάνης.
ἄγει μὲν δὴ ὁ Σόρων τὴν ἐπὶ Ψωφίδος· θηρία δὲ οὗτός
τε καὶ ὅσοι δρυμοὶ τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν εἰσὶν ἄλλοι παρέχονται
τοσαύδε, ἀγρίους ὕς καὶ ἄρκτους καὶ χελώνας μεγίστας
μεγέθει.

Stag: forepart of doe.

Æ Auton. Fifth century.

ARTEMIS clad in short chiton, her right hand on her side, her
left on a spear, quiver at shoulder.

Æ Sept. Sev. M. S. iv. 291, 105.

Sept. Sev. Leake, *Eur. Sup.* p. 143. (T XIX.)

Domna. Leake, *l. c.* (Position of arms reversed.) (T XX.)

- 6.—Paus. VIII. 24, 4. Ἐχει δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ὁ Ἐρύμανθος ἐν
ὄρει Λαμπεΐᾳ· τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο ἱερὸν εἶναι Πανὸς
λέγεται.

Pan standing, holds in his hands human head (mask or
syrinx?).

Æ Geta. Vaill. *Num. Gr.* p. 120.

Naples. *Cat.* No. 7578.

- 7.—OTHER TYPE at Psophis.

Dionysus clad in short chiton; holds wine-cup and long
thyrsus.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M.

Domna. Munich. (T XXI.)

THELPUSA.

- 1.—Paus. VIII. 25, 4. Μετὰ δὲ Θέλπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ὁ Λάδων κάτεισι τὸ ἐν Ὀγκείῳ· καλοῦσι δὲ Ἑρινὺν οἱ Θελπούσιοι τὴν θεόν, κ.τ.λ.

VIII. 25, 7. Τὴν δὲ Δήμητρα τεκεῖν φασὶν ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θυγατέρα, ἥς τὸ ὄνομα ἐς ἀτελέστους λέγειν οὐ νομίζουσι, καὶ ἵππον τὸν Ἀρείονα.

Obv. Head of DEMETER, adorned with necklace ending in horse's head.

Rev. ΕΡΙΩΝ. The horse ARION, running, bridled.

Æ and Æ Auton. Paris. Imh. (T xxii., xxiii.) *Mon. Gr.* p. 209.

2.—OTHER TYPES at Thelpusa.

PAN horned, wearing nebris over shoulders and holding pedom, touching with his left hand the top of a reed (Syrinx).

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M.

Plautilla. Imh.

Geta. Vienna. (T xxiv.)

See *Zeitschr. f. Num.* i. p. 125. The love of Pan for Syrinx and her transformation into a reed is related by several ancient writers. Pausanias VIII. 38, 11, mentions Melpeia in Arcadia as the place where the syrinx was invented by Pan.

Female head, radiate, possibly of Demeter Erinnys.

Æ Auton.

Isis.

Æ Sept. Sev.

Artemis hunting.

Æ Geta.

Dionysos naked, holds wine-cup and thyrsus.

Æ Sept. Sev.

Hermes, holds purse and caduceus.

Æ Geta. Berlin.

Tyche; holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Geta. Loebbecke.

HERAEA.

- 1.—Paus. VIII. 26, 1. Ἑραιεῦσι δὲ οἰκιστὴς μὲν γέγονεν Ἑραιεὺς ὁ Λυκάονος, κέϊται δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ.

River god ALPHEIUS reclining, before him an ox standing; below, fishes.

Æ Carac. Mion. II. 248, 30. Paris.

The ox may bear allusion to the sacrifices brought to Alpheius in Peloponnese, especially at Olympia.

- 2.—Paus. VIII. 26, 1. *Ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ ναοί· τὸν μὲν καλοῦσιν αὐτῶν Πολίτην, τὸν δὲ Αὐξίτην. καὶ οἴκημά ἐστὶ σφισιν ἔνθα τῷ Διονύσῳ τὰ ὄργια ἄγουσιν.*

DIONYSUS standing; in both hands grapes, left elbow resting on column; beside him, panther.

Æ Carac. Leake, *Eur. Sup.* p. 128. (T xxv.)

Dionysus in short chiton; holds in each hand grapes.

Æ Carac. Leake, *l. c.* (T xxvi.)

The former of these types is characteristic, and clearly the copy of a statue.

- 3.—Paus. VIII. 26, 2. *Ἔστι καὶ ναὸς ἐν τῇ Ἡραίᾳ Πανὸς ἅτε τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιχωρίου. τῆς δὲ Ἡρας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἄλλα ἐρείπια καὶ οἱ κίονες ἔτι ἐλείποντο.*

PAN standing, left foot resting on rock, holds in left hand spear, chlamys over shoulder.

Æ Auton. Fifth century.

HERA standing, holds in right hand sceptre.

Æ Sept. Sev. M. S. iv. 278, 39.

Head of Hera, veiled.

Æ Auton. Sixth century.

4.—OTHER TYPES at Heraea.

Head of Pallas.

Head of Artemis.

Æ Auton.

Artemis kneeling, discharging arrow.

Æ Auton. Imh. Photiades Coll.

Tyche, holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris.

MEGALOPOLIS.

- 1.—Paus. VIII. 30, 2. *Περίβολος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ λίθων καὶ ἱερὸν Λυκαίου Διός. ἔσοδος δ' ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι.*

30, 10. *Ταύτης τῆς στοᾶς ἐστὶν ἐγγυτάτω ὡς πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ἱερὸν Σωτήρος ἐπὶ κλησιν Διός· κεκόσμηται δὲ περίξ κίοσι. καθεζομένων δὲ τῷ Διὶ ἐν θρόνῳ παρεστῆκασιν τῇ μὲν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτείρας ἄγαλμα. ταῦτα μὲν λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησίου Ἀθηναῖοι Κηφισόδοτος καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἰργάσαντο.*

ZEUS seated facing, on throne; holds in raised right, sceptre; himation over left shoulder.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (V 1.) Paris.

Head of Zeus.

Æ Auton. B. M. &c.

We can scarcely hesitate to consider the facing Zeus (V I.) as a reminiscence of the statue by Cephisodotus and Xenophon, set up soon after B.C. 370. The figure seems to be of the noble Attic type. What Zeus holds in his left hand it is unfortunately not possible to distinguish.

ARTEMIS? standing to left clad in short chiton; spear in raised right hand, in left the end of her over-dress.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris.

Domna. M. S. iv. 282, 59. Berlin. (V II.)

Carac. M. S. iv. 282, 61. (?)

Cf. VIII. 32, 4. *Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ μοίρᾳ ταύτῃ λόφος πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, καὶ Ἀγροτέρας ἐν αὐτῷ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀνάθημα Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ τοῦτο.*

In the Brunswick cabinet is a coin of Sept. Severus, on which is a figure in attitude and dress resembling V II. but the head bearded and turned to the right. It is therefore very doubtful if the figure in the plate be of Artemis.

2.—Paus. VIII. 38, 5. *Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανὸς τε ἱερὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλλος δένδρων, καὶ ἵπποδρομὸς τε καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στάδιον.*

30, 3. *Καὶ ἄγαλμα Πανὸς λίθου πεποιημένον· ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ Οἰνόεις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ.*

PAN horned naked, seated on rock, over which is spread his garment, holds in right hand pedum; below, syrinx.

Æ Auton. Fourth century. B. M. &c.

Klagenfurt, XAPI on rock. Loebbecke, OLYM on rock. (V III.)

Pan horned seated on rock, right hand raised, in left pedum.

Æ Auton. Sometimes eagle before him. B. M. &c.

Pan naked seated on rock, holds in right hand pedum which rests on the ground, left rests on rock; all in wreath.

Æ Auton. B. M. (V IV.)

Pan walking, spear in right hand, in left pedum.

Æ Sept. Sev. M. S. iv. 281, 58. Paris.

(Probably an incorrect description of the type V II.)

3.—Paus. VIII. 30, 3. *Ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τεμένους τούτου χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος θεᾶς ἄξιον, μέγεθος μὲν ἐς πόδας δώδεκα, ἐκομίσθη δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φιγαλέων συντέλεια ἐς κόσμον τῇ Μεγάλῃ πόλει.*

APOLLO naked, laur., standing, leaning on column, holds branch in right, and bow in left.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris. (V V.)

Carac. M. S. iv. 282, 60.

The coin probably reproduces the pose of the colossal figure mentioned in the text. On the coin figured branch and bow are not clearly distinguishable.

- 4.—Paus. VIII. 30, 7. Τῶν ἀρχαίων δὲ ὅπισθε ναὸς Τύχης καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου πεποιήται ποδῶν πέντε οὐκ ἀποδέον.

TYCHE, holds rudder and cornucopiae.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris.

- 5.—Paus. VIII. 31, 3. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς παρὰ τῇ Δήμητρι μέγεθος μάλιστα πῆχυν· τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι τῶν Ἰδαίων καλουμένων Δακτύλων Ὀνομάκριτός φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι. κεῖται δὲ τράπεζα ἔμπροσθεν. Cf. 31, 7.

HERAKLES bearded, in form of term, lion's skin wrapped about him, the head visible under his left arm.

Æ Carac. Paris. (V VI.)

Herakles bearded in form of term; no lion's skin.

Geta. Berlin. (V VII.)

- 6.—Paus. VIII. 31, 5. Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου . . . Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν. Cf. 32, 2, ἐρείπια δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἦν τὸ ἱερόν, πλὴν ὅσον πρόναός τε ἐλείπετο ἔτι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀριθμὸν τρία, ἐπὶ κλησὶς δὲ Οὐρανία, τῇδ' ἔστι Πάνδημος, τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐτίθεντο.

APHRODITE naked facing, in attitude of Medicean Venus; beside her, dolphin.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris. (V VIII.)

METHYDRION.

- 1.—Paus. VIII. 35, 8. Σταδίου δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα καταβάντι ἐκ Κρουνῶν τάφος ἐστὶ Καλλιστοῦς, χῶμα γῆς ὑψηλόν, δένδρα ἔχον πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀκάρπων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἡμερα. ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρῳ τῷ χώματι ἱερόν ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησὶν Καλλίστης.

CALLISTO, falling back, pierced with an arrow, her arms extended; beside her, the infant Arcas lying.

Æ Auton. Obv. Head of Zeus.

Imh. M. G. p. 200, pl. E. 9.

LYCOSURA.

- 1.—Paus. VIII. 38, 5. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ . . . στάδιον τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον τῶν Λυκαίων ἦγον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐνταῦθα.

ΛΥΚΑΙΑ on coins of Sept. Severus. Athens.

The early silver coins of the Arcadians, having on the obverse a seated figure of Zeus and on the reverse a female head, were formerly attributed to Lycosura and regarded as illustrative of

the cultus of Zeus Lycaeus, and of Despoena. It is, however, shewn in Imhoof's *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 196, that they were probably issued at Heraea, and have reference to the cultus of Zeus at Olympia and that of Artemis at Heraea.

PHIGALEIA.

- 1.—Paus. VIII. 39, 5. Ἔστι δὲ Σωτείρας τε ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν λίθον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὰς πομπὰς σφισι πέμπειν κατέστη.

ARTEMIS standing, clad in short chiton with diplois, holds bipennis and lance.

Æ Sept. Sev. Leake, *Eur. Sup.* p. 140.

Æ Carac. B. M. Imh. (V ix.)

Artemis as huntress.

Æ Sept. Sev. M. S. iv. 288, 91.

Artemis holding a torch in right hand.

Æ Plautilla. M. S. iv. 290, 102.

Artemis (or Demeter) in long chiton, holding out a torch in each hand.

Æ S. Severus. Lambros. (V x.)

Domna. M. S. iv. 289, 95.

Carac. Paris.

Artemis Soteira sometimes bears torches (Megara A 1.).

- 2.—Paus. VIII. 39, 6. Ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀμπεχομένῳ μὲν ἔοικεν ἱμάτιον, καταλήγει δὲ οὐκ ἐς πόδας, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα.

Term-like figure of HERMES, clad in himation, and holding caduceus in right hand; end of garment wrapped round left arm.

Æ Sept. Sev. Leake, *Eur. Sup.* p. 140. Berlin. (V xii.)

Carac. M. S. iv. 290, 100.

Geta. Leake, *Eur.* p. 90.

Similar figure, caduceus not visible, placed in arched niche between columns.

Æ Domna. Munich. (V xi.)

Carac. M. S. iv. 290, 101.

- 3.—Paus. VIII. 39, 6. Πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Διονύσου ναός· ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀκρατοφόρος.

DIONYSUS standing, holds wine-cup and thyrsus.

Æ Sept. Sev. Naples.

- 4.—Paus. VIII. 41, 2. Ποταμὸς δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Λύμαξ ἐκδίδωσι μὲν ἐς τὴν Νέδαν παρ' αὐτὴν ῥέων Φιγαλίαν, γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦνομά φασι τῷ ποταμῷ καθαρσίῳ τῶν Ῥέας ἔνεκα.

RIVER-GOD seated on rock looking back, himation over one shoulder ; holds in right, vessel from which he pours, in left, branch.

Æ Plautilla. Paris.

Geta. Munich. (V XIII.)

5.—Paus. VIII. 41, 10. Ἀφροδίτη δέ ἐστιν ἐν Κωτίλῳ· καὶ αὐτῇ ναός τε ἦν οὐκ ἔχων ἔτι ὄροφον καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐπεποίητο.

APHRODITE naked, leans her right elbow on a pillar, with left hand grasps her hair ; head turned to left.

Æ Plautilla. Loebbecke. (V XIV.)

6.—Paus. VIII. 42, 1. Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τῶν ὀρῶν τὸ Ἐλλάϊον ἀπωτέρω μὲν Φιγαλίας ὅσον τε σταδίοις τριάκοντά ἐστι, Δήμητρος δὲ ἄντρον αὐτόθι ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Μελαίνης, cf. 42, 4 ; see also above under Thelpusa.

DEMETER ? holding a torch in each hand. See above under Artemis.

Demeter veiled, facing, right hand extended, in left sceptre ; over-dress over both arms.

Æ Domna. Munich. (V XV.)

Demeter veiled standing left, holds in right hand poppy-head ? left rests on her side.

Æ Carac. Munich. (V XVI.)

Demeter standing veiled, holds in right long sceptre, left wrapped in mantle.

Æ M. Aurel. Paris. (V XVII.)

Demeter facing, veiled and clad in chiton, holds in each hand ears of corn ?.

Æ Domna. Paris. (V XVIII.)

7.—OTHER TYPES at Phigaleia.

Pallas standing, holds patera and sceptre.

Æ Domna. Paris. Carac. &c.

Pallas, holds olive-branch and spear.

Æ Carac.

Pallas, holds spear and shield.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris.

Pallas, holds Victory and spear.

Æ Carac. Domna.

Pallas, leaning on spear and another figure with both hands extended, probably Demeter ; behind the latter, altar.

Æ Domna. B. M. (V XIX.)

Asklepius standing.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris &c.

TEGEA.

- 1.—Paus. VIII. 45, 6. Τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν ἡ θήρα τοῦ υἱὸς τοῦ Καλυδωνίου πεπονημένου δὲ κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τοῦ υἱὸς τῇ μὲν ἔστιν Ἀταλάντη καὶ τ. λ.

47, 2. ἐν τῷ ναῶ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἔστι μὲν τὸ δέρμα υἱὸς τοῦ Καλυδωνίου.

ATALANTA as a huntress, quiver at shoulder, spearing the Calydonian boar, who stands under a tree.

Æ Domna. Mion. II. 256, 75. Paris. Bibl. Turin. (V xx.)

M. S. IV. 294, 120.

- 2.—Paus. VIII. 45, 4. Τεγεάταις δὲ Ἀθηναῖς τῆς Ἀλέας τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποίησεν Ἀλεος.

46, 4. Τῆς Ἀθηναῖς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐλέφαντος διὰ παντὸς πεπονημένον, τέχνη δὲ Ἑνδοίου.

47, 1. Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν Τεγέᾳ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐκομίσθη μὲν ἐκ δήμου τοῦ Μανθουρέων, Ἴππία δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Μανθουρεῦσιν εἶχεν ἐπὶ κλησιν.

ATHENE, fighting.

Æ Auton. Leake, *Eur.* p. 98.

Athene, in long chiton; holds raised spear and shield.

Æ Sept. Sev. Leake, *Eur. Sup.* p. 147. (V XXI.)

It may, perhaps, be doubted whether the statue which served as model for the coin V XXI. was the statue by Endoeus, removed to Rome by Augustus, or the later statue called Hippias brought to supply its place. Brunn (*G. K.* I. 118) has shewn that the date of Endoeus must be brought down to about B.C. 500, and the type of statue on our coin is not inappropriate to such a time; but on the other hand it is unlikely that the die-cutters of Tegea would attempt in the time of Severus to reproduce a statue removed to Rome, rather than one which remained among them, and the attitude on the coin is well suited to Athene Hippias if we suppose her driving in her chariot against the Giants. There is a likeness between the type on this coin and that which at Pellene probably reproduces an early statue by Pheidias, S X.

Obv. Head of Pallas.

Rev. Owl: inscribed ΑΘΑΝΑ ΑΛΕΑ.

Æ Auton. Leake, *l. c.*

Head of ALEUS; inscribed ΑΛΕΟΣ.

Æ Auton. Leake, *l. c.* Imh.

3.—Paus. VIII. 47, 5. Λέγοντες ὡς Κηφεὶ τῷ Ἀλέου γένοιτο δωρεὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίης ἀνάλωτον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον εἶναι Τεγέαν καὶ αὐτῷ φασὶν ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀποτεμοῦσαν τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τριχῶν τῶν Μεδούσης.

ATHENE handing to Sterope as priestess the hair of Medusa, which the latter receives in a vessel.

Æ Auton. B. M. Imh. (V xxii.)

Same scene in the presence of CEPHEUS, who receives the hair from the goddess.

Æ Auton. B. M. Imh. (V xxiii.)

Head of Medusa.

Æ Auton.

Obv. Head of Athene.

Rev. Cepheus or other hero charging.

Æ Auton.

Cepheus? naked, standing; holds shield and spear.

Æ Sept. Sev. Paris.

Carac. M. S. iv. 294, 121.

4.—Paus. VIII. 48, 7. Καὶ ἐκτεθῆναι τὸν Τήλεφον λέγοντι ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Παρθένιον, καὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκκειμένῳ διδόναι γάλα ἔλαφον.

TELEPHUS suckled by a doe.

Æ Auton.

5.—Paus. VIII. 48, 7. Τὴν δὲ Εἰλείθυιαν οἱ Τεγεᾶται, καὶ γὰρ ταύτης ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ναὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα, ἐπονομάζουσιν Αὔγην ἐν γόνασι.

Head of EILEITHYIA, torch over shoulder.

Æ Auton. B. M.

6.—OTHER TYPES at Tegea.

Herakles as term; lion's skin wrapped about him.

Æ Geta. Imh. M. G. p. 209. (V xxiv.)

Cf. VIII. 48, 6. Ἀγαλμα τετράγωνον περισσῶς γὰρ δὴ τι τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ φαίνονται μοι χαίρειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

This figure of Herakles is closely like that on the coins of Megalopolis (V VI). Megalopolis being a new city built B.C. 370 had to borrow the forms of its deities from its neighbours.

Hera? seated, holds sceptre and pomegranate?

Æ Sept. Sev. Naples, Cat. No. 7580.

P.S.—The coins of Asine in Messenia were in the first paper incorrectly ascribed to Asine in Argolis, a city of which in historical times only ruins remained.

ON SOME WORKS OF THE SCHOOL OF SCOPAS.

OF one of the greatest masters of the great age of Greek sculpture nothing certain or satisfactory was known until three fragments found at Piali were proved in 1880 to belong to the sculpture that filled the pediment of the temple of Athene Alea at Tegea. These fragments—the helmed head of a youthful warrior much defaced, another youthful head with nearly all the features preserved, and the head of a boar—can be as directly traced to the hand of Scopas as the figures of the Parthenon pediment to the hand of Pheidias. The recent handbooks and histories of Greek sculpture have not taken them sufficiently into account; and yet they are our sole material for an immediate study of Scopas, and having been brought to the Central Museum of Athens are now fairly accessible, and have been minutely examined and scientifically estimated by Dr. Treu,¹ who has endeavoured to affix their place in the development of style, and has shown their relations to other works. But his employment of them as criteria has chiefly a negative result. He finds in them certain characteristics which speak against the claims sometimes advanced of the Niobid figures, of the Ephesian Alcestis relief, of the Vatican Apollo Citharoedus, and of the Munich relief of Amphitrite's marriage, to represent the style of Scopas and his school. The main object of this paper is to notice a few works in which a more or less close resemblance to the Tegean heads is discernible. For this purpose it is necessary to briefly examine the account given by Dr. Treu, an account to which—as he admits—he is assisted chiefly by drawings, and not by the immediate observation of the originals. The main result of his statement is that the heads reveal

¹ *Mittheil. d. deut. Inst.* 1881.



Peloponnesian forms; and he explains this by referring to the Peloponnesian influences which shaped the earlier work of Scopas. But the explanation rests merely on hypotheses, such as that he was the son of the Parian sculptor Aristandros, who wrought a bronze statue at Sparta in commemoration of Aegospotami, and that the son began his career in the Peloponnese as his father's pupil. But this paternity is merely conjectured; and, if it were true, the teaching of Aristandros must have been Athenian and not Peloponnesian teaching, as Attic influences must in all probability have been dominant in Parian workshops. Even the view that the works of Scopas found in the Peloponnese belonged to his youthful period, when his style was forming, rests on the date of the reconstruction of the temple of Athene Alea at Tegea; and the view becomes doubtful unless it is quite certain that the building of the new temple began immediately after the burning of the old, that is after 394 B.C.; but of so ambitious and costly a work this cannot with certainty be said. At any rate, when he was called to Tegea his style and his fame must have been partially established, and there is no *a priori* reason for supposing that this style had any peculiar affinity with the Peloponnesian.

The Tegean fragments alone can decide. At the first survey of them one is struck with the broad surfaces of cheek, of which the lower bones are in the one case clearly but not too sharply marked, with the great depth of the head as compared with the height, and with the rather flattened line of the top of the skull. The structure has thus something of the largeness and steadfastness that belonged to the type prevalent in the latter part of the fifth century. So far Dr. Treu, who calls attention to this system of forms, has not been misled by the drawings which are the sources of his description.¹ But so far there is nothing distinctively Peloponnesian; for this breadth of cheek and depth of head are found in Attic works of the Pheidian age and at the beginning of the fourth century, for instance in the Eirene of Munich, in the relief of the Villa Albani, and the grave slab of Dexilaos. Another trait, not noticed by Dr. Treu in his analysis, but contributing much to peculiar effect of these Tegean heads, is the great breadth of the central part of the face; for the sides

¹ *Mith. d. deut. Inst.* 1881, pl. xiv.

of the face do not converge gradually towards the middle, but form as it were distinct, though not sharply-bounded planes. Such a structure does not belong to the Peloponnesian treatment, but in reality to the older conception of forms, and to the earlier manner of Pheidias himself, as seen in the statuette of Athene Parthenos; yet the effect which it produces in these Tegean heads conveys no hint of a more archaic or mathematical scheme. But it gives a quality to the countenance which I do not remember to have found in any other heads of the fourth century, except those few which are below mentioned, and which I connect with Scopas.

It is chiefly in the preponderance given to the lower part of the Tegean face over the upper by the large chin and strongly-marked cheek-bones that Dr. Treu finds Peloponnesian influences. He admits that these proportions are to be found in Pheidian heads, but thinks that such a system soon disappeared from Attic style. Whether it might not be found in some Attic work of the fourth century is a question that need not now be raised, for I cannot help believing that he has here been deceived by his drawing. Judging from recent observation of the originals, I should say that the bone-structure is far from being so emphasised as he represents it, and the chin did not appear to me to be strikingly large.

I cannot, then, see that there is anything specially Peloponnesian in the structure of the heads, or that we have found in them a link between Polyclitus and Lysippos; and in any case, in the details of the features, in the life and expression of the whole the work is immeasurably distant from the Peloponnesian—as it is known to us—and stamps the sculptor as a master of the spiritual Attic style. For while in the proportions we see the traces of an older, severer, and larger style not seen in the work of Praxiteles and Lysippos, we note, also, the character of the fourth-century Attic work in the free and mobile rendering of the flesh upon the forehead, the cheeks, and the throat. The aim of his two great contemporaries, to portray the individual momentary life in emotional forms, the temporary mood rather than the abiding character, is the aim of Scopas also; there is passion and changeful life rendered masterfully, and with extraordinary warmth, in the Tegean heads; and there are certain details in which they show also a formal resemblance

to the Lysippian and Praxitelean type, for instance, a partial resemblance in the rendering of the forehead, in the lines about the face, and in the firm setting of the head upon the throat. But the work of Scopas is distinct both in spiritual effect and in form. There is here more fulness and breadth, more compression of the masses of flesh than in the heads of the Hermes and Apoxyomenos. The throat is broader, more swollen, and more columnar; and the countenance, while being not so high and so open as the Praxitelean, is not so tightly drawn as the Lysippian. The lips are full and short and drawn upwards. The breadth between the eyes is very great, and at each extremity of the eyebrow and underneath there are violent swellings of the flesh, the eyelid being almost hid, and the eye appearing as from under a penthouse. When we view the face sideways the wall of the eyesocket near the nose appears conspicuously large, and the eye, being much shorter than in the Hermes' and Apoxyomenos' heads, appears swollen and compressed towards the centre. There is an unique and vivid power in these forms, and an unique spiritual quality in the whole. The life in the face is as eager, but not so restless and self-conscious, as in the faces of the Lysippian style; nor is it self-absorbed and delicate as in those of the Praxitelean, but it is full healthy corporeal life, throbbing with masterful emotion, and penetrated with the excitement of action.¹ In fact, it is the distinct quality of this work, that the expression of the face is dramatic, and if we may assume that this quality belonged to all the figures of the group, we have here a new point of departure in monumental sculpture, in so far as in the older sculpture the figures alone show the movement and action, the faces are comparatively indifferent. And though the expression is here very highly-wrought, the effect is firm and plastic, and the laws imposed by the nature of the material are properly regarded. These fragments, then, are sufficient to attest the greatness of Scopas, in spite of the possibly depreciative silence of Lucian concerning him; to suggest the qualities which charmed in his group of Achilles and the sea-divinities, and, in some degree, to explain the ecstatic description of Callistratos, who found the works of Scopas *κάτοχα καὶ μεστὰ μανίας*.

¹ As Dr. Treu points out, the two heads come from the pediment in which the combat between the Greeks and Telephos was represented.

It would be well if we could fix precisely the date of the Tegean sculpture; but at present exact data are wanting, as we only know the year of the conflagration (394 B.C.), and are left to conjecture¹ what interval elapsed before the new work was set on foot, and how long the process of construction lasted. For the completion of so great a design we may have to suppose a period of many years, and a longer period would better accord with the style of the heads than a shorter; for that so powerful a development of the pathetic style did not belong to the first decade of the fourth century is proved by the relief of Dexilaos, in which only the germ of this new expression is found.

The first work to which we should naturally apply the criteria which these heads afford is the Mausoleum frieze—although this has not yet been done with any result. The work of Scopas upon the frieze has been estimated by Brunn² without any reference to the Tegean discoveries. Neither does he attach any value to the position in which the fragments were found, as he regards this as purely accidental. Guided merely by the tests of composition and workmanship, he ascribes to Scopas the slabs on which are represented a Greek dragging an Amazon off her horse, and two Greeks striking down a fallen Amazon, and another slab (Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, Pl. IX., 1) showing a mounted Amazon. It is to the present purpose only to note how far the Tegean style appears here in the rendering of the faces. Now the head of the Greek who is unseating the Amazon shows certainly the marked cheek-bones, the broad surfaces, and something of the same treatment of the eye-sockets and eyebrows: but the face is too high, and the middle of it not broad enough, to recall vividly the type of the Tegean heads. The only other well-preserved male face in this series is that of the Greek at the extreme left, who is raising his sword above the fallen Amazon, and this shows some of the general features of the type, but nothing of the essential and characteristic style, nothing, for instance, of the peculiar treatment of the flesh. So far, then, the applied criteria do not

¹ The architectural remains do not seem to give very exact evidence, but vide Milchhöfer, *Mith. d. deut. Inst.*

V. p. 61, 66.

² *Berichte d. Königl. bayer. Acad. d. Wiss.* 1882, 2, p. 114.

speak very decisively, and Brunn's theory must rest merely on the general excellence of the work.¹

But it is in a different part of the frieze where Dr. Treu has discovered the work of Scopas, guided by the clue which the Tegean heads supply, and by the statement of Pliny that Scopas carved the reliefs on the Mausoleum 'ab oriente.' Now four relief-slabs² were found on the east side of the Mausoleum, and as three were connected together, it is a fairly probable supposition that these at least belonged originally to that side; and Dr. Treu believes himself to have found in these, or at least in one of them,³ the same system of forms which he has found in the Tegean heads, 'the broad cheeks with severely flat surfaces, the protuberance of the forehead, the strikingly large eyes with the small raised eyelids, the deep eyesockets.' But the flat surfaces of cheek are according to my impression by no means characteristic of the work of Scopas, and the other qualities are found indeed, but in no striking measure, in the head of the Mausoleum figure. In fact most of the heads in the Mausoleum frieze more closely resemble the type than this, which has nothing of the peculiar rendering of the flesh, and nothing of the emotional expression.

But it is also in the rendering of the torso of the Mausoleum youth that Dr. Treu finds the marks of Scopas' hand. And here his theory seems almost wholly arbitrary, as the remains at Tegea tell us only the mode of Scopas' handling of the head. He notes the meagre length of this figure, the flatness of the surfaces, the sinewy muscles, the sharply-defined joints and outlines of the diaphragm and thorax. Such qualities may belong to the 'mathematical Peloponnesian style'—but *à priori*—and we are only dealing with *à priori* assumptions—cannot be assumed to belong to the style of Scopas, or to be appropriate to the spirit of his most famous works, the Maenad and the group of Achilles and the sea-divinities: that they are found in this Mausoleum figure should incline us to suspect that it is

¹ It is curious that Mr. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculp.* vol. ii. p. 300, regards one of the slabs, which if not actually part of Brunn's 'fourth series' is on Brunn's own statement very closely related to it, as one of the worst in the frieze.

² Three are reproduced very unsatisfactorily in Overbeck (*Gesch. d. griech. Plast.* ii. fig. iii. 1 n m); another in Newton, *Hist. of Discov.* pl. ix. 1.

³ In the youthful warrior who has sunk on his knee and is feeling for his sword.

no *Σκοπάδειον ἔργον*, in spite of the position in which it was discovered—a clue which is the less trustworthy as the fragments are comparatively small.

In other heads of the frieze we find more characteristics of the type, although nowhere is it fully presented. For instance, the head of the Greek on slab 25¹ who wears a sword-belt and whose breast is half-bared, has the large forefront of face, the well-marked cheek-bones, the breadth between the eyes, and the upward spring of the lips, but the flesh is not so emphasised or so wrought with emotion. On slab 21, showing a Greek that has fallen upon his knee, there is a head that with its deep eye-socket and protruding forehead swelling over the eye at once recalls the Tegean, though the throat appears to be longer and not so full. Elsewhere in the frieze² we have scattered indications in the rendering of one or two features, or in the emotional expression, or the handling of the flesh, but nowhere the full and complete evidence that we are seeking. Such traits as occasionally remind us of Scopas are not decisive, for they appear in various parts of the frieze, and show that a part of this system of forms with which we are dealing had become a common manner of different contemporary schools. The combat between the Greeks and Amazons, and between the Greeks led by Achilles and Mysians led by Telephos, are motives so nearly alike that we might have expected the sculptor who dealt with both to have invested both themes with the same spirit. The figures in both pediments of the temple at Tegea may have closely resembled in their movements and grouping many of the figures on the frieze. But of this we know nothing. In the meantime it is certain that no Mausoleum head in the Amazonomachia at all approaches the Tegean heads in imaginative power, in originality of forms and expression. The tone of expression, so to speak, is often the same, but weaker; nor need this surprise us, for the sculptor may not have thought right to employ all the resources for the relief which he had used for the free sculpture. But it is more strange that the striking and predominating mark of the Tegean heads—their great depth—is nowhere found, as far as I am

¹ The numbers are those attached to the slab in the Mausoleum room in the British Museum.

² For instance, in the Amazon and Greek on the left half of the Genoese slab.

aware, or not conspicuous, in the heads of the frieze. We may explain this by boldly declaring that we have no sculpture from the east frieze at all, though this is to suppose a somewhat curious chance. We cannot at least explain it by the usual assumption that the master's sketch has been left to the pupil's hand to execute; for it is such a trait as this which becomes part of the manner of a school.

So far then the comparison between the Tegean heads and the Mausoleum frieze has not resulted in the discovery of Scopas' own handiwork there, but has perhaps sufficed to prove the strong influence of Scopas upon his contemporaries.

But a piece of the Mausoleum sculpture that seems to stand nearer than any other to the Tegean heads is the figure of the charioteer¹ bending forward in the race. The workmanship of the whole body, the forms and expression of the face, are worthy of the greatest sculptor's hand; no other part of the Mausoleum sculpture can be compared to it for the warm and soft treatment of the surface; and it has been noticed that the arrangement of the drapery, the simplicity of the lines, recall an older style, of which traces would seem to have been found in Scopas. The depth of the head and broad surfaces of cheek with the firm marking of the bone-structure are striking; and the breadth and pronounced forms of the throat, the very deep eye-socket, the eye-ball that seems to protrude in the centre, the half-open mouth, and the upward spring of the upper lip, are other traits of the Tegean type that characterise this head. On the other hand there are certainly some differences in detail; the lower lip is slightly dimpled and hangs over, and there is no noticeable swelling above the eyes; nor is there the same violent energy here as that which the Tegean head displayed in tension and compression of the features. But the expression here is in kind the same, an expression of fresh and buoyant vitality, of the ardour of action upon which the mind is set; there is more than the mere 'anima' of a Ladas upon the lips and in the eyes of the charioteer.

In dealing with the sculptures of the Mausoleum, while much uncertainty attaches to them, we are on comparatively safe ground, for the hypothesis that the influence of Scopas was

¹ Very well reproduced in Mr. Newton's *Travels in the Levant*, pl. 16.

operative in any particular part of the whole work is one which we may always put forward and endeavour to test. But there are other works, of which we may not know the origin or purpose or even place of discovery, but which exhibit a type of features and expression that relates them more or less closely to the Tegean. Some of these I wish to mention and describe, but with much diffidence, feeling that one's personal impressions of scattered and unrecorded works are likely to be deceptive.

There is a terra-cotta head at Oxford, belonging to the valuable collection which Mr. Fortnum has kindly lent to the University, and showing the workmanship of the best style of the fourth century. The head, which is of life size and has the features of a young boy, is inclined to the left and is gazing upward; and the fragment of a hand which is attached to the left cheek enables us to complete the figure. The boy is either seated or is leaning against a pillar, and his face is propped on his left hand. The first is the more probable position if this is a sepulchral monument: and that this is its designation is the opinion which I believe was formed by Mr. Newton and Dr. Helbig when they saw the lead, and which is confirmed by the extraordinary expression of sorrow in the face. The features might be suitable to a representation of Eros or Hypnos, but certainly not the emotion that speaks from them. The original purpose of the work can at present only be gathered from its own character and not from any external clue, for I have been able to ascertain nothing of the circumstances or position in which it was found, only that it was excavated on the Esquiline. But at present I am more concerned with the style than the subject. Before any discussion it is necessary to mention that doubts have been thrown on the antiquity of the work, chiefly on account of the quality of the clay, but also because of the position of the hand, which is supposed to betray a certain affectation or modernism. In regard to the first objection, Mr. Evans, the keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, who has carefully examined the head, pronounces the clay to be genuinely Greek, and has discovered on parts of the surface a deposit which proves its age. The position of the hand is repeated without much variation in many figures that belong to sepulchral scenes, and if it is right to see a certain affectation here in the extended

fingers lying delicately on the cheek, this will be a defect but no proof of modernism. But such suspicions can scarcely remain after a careful study of the style of the head. The surviving works of the fourth century that can compare with this in freshness, geniality, and nobility of form and expression, are but few; there is an extraordinary warmth in the surface, and fluency in the modelling of the features, that display many of the most striking characteristics of the Tegean and the kindred Mausoleum heads. The depth of the head is greater than the height, and we note the rather large chin, and the broad surfaces of the cheeks which are firmly set above the full and largely-modulated throat. The lips are short and high-arched. The eye-sockets are deep, and the eyeballs are convex; the forehead is strongly barred, the eyebrows are swollen at the extremities and overhang but do not conceal the eyelids. The forms of the skull are shown as in the Tegean head, and here as there it is by the rendering of the eye and mouth that the imaginative quality, the strong and distinct spiritual expression is conveyed. This expression, the cast of the features, and the outlines of the head, differ in the same way as in the Tegean work they differ from those of the Praxitelean and Lysippian types. In the terracotta and in the Tegean fragment there is a high pathetic and dramatic emotion free of all morbid consciousness, and wrought in large and satisfying forms, and both seem to show the impress of an independent master-hand working on the one directly, in the other influencing the work.

There is a woman's head in the Central Museum¹ at Athens, found at Delos, which for many reasons suggests comparison with those of Tegea, and may be more naturally ascribed to the school of Scopas than to the school of any other great sculptor of the fourth century. Among the best productions of this century that have come down to us it certainly takes rank, although M. Homolle, who describes it in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, judges it to be 'posterior to the great Greek epoch.' Its style is in the highest degree warm and genial, showing the greatest fluency and perfect mastery over the material, free of any trace of Alexandrine affectation or

¹ Published in the *Bulletin de* 327, and described *ibid.* 1880, p. 38. *Correspondance Hellénique* 1879, p.

excess. Though the head is high, the depth is greater than the height, and the forms of the face, which is a very full oval, as well as the structure of the head, recall the Tegean works. We note the same swelling at the extremity of the eyelids, the deep eye-socket, the same effect of the eye and eye-socket as seen sideways, the short full mouth straining upwards, the same lines, though fainter, about the nose and mouth. The cheeks are broad and the throat is high and full, but not so prominently marked or so columnar; and the tension of features which was the striking characteristic of the Tegean head is absent here. But these differences can be naturally explained as due to the difference of sex, and of the emotion represented; and the life of the face is the same, appearing in its rich and full forms distinct from that which belongs to the Praxitelean and Lysippian type. The expression is one of high sorrow, not restrained and yet not ecstatic, and thus displayed with perfect freedom and yet with no excess; it is the mode of representing emotion which we notice in the terra-cotta head.

Some slight corroboration of the theory that this head is to be referred to the school of Scopas is its likeness to one of the heads discovered on the ruins of the Mausoleum, and described by Mr. Newton as 'a colossal female head remarkable for the largeness and simplicity of treatment and intense pathos of expression.'¹ It recalls the Attic head chiefly in the pose, in the contour, and in the expression, so far as the disfigured surface allows this to be estimated. The breadth of the head is nearly two inches more than its height, the surfaces of the cheek are large and are not very clearly marked from the throat; the lips are full and short, and are drawn somewhat upwards. The eyes are very deep, and the width between them seems great, and we have traces of the protuberances in the forehead above them.

The 'Heroic Head' (No. 48) found on the south side of the Mausoleum shows some of the forms and something of the expression of this type, and may perhaps be considered as an example of a later development of the style. Its influence on

¹ The same female type is seen in some of the Amazons' heads on the frieze, *e.g.* the Amazon in slab 3 near

Herakles and the fallen Amazon in the Genoese slab.

the later epochs is hard to trace, but may be surmised. Rhodian sculpture was probably impressed by it, and the greatest of the Asia Minor schools, the school of Pergamon. For on many of the heads of the Pergamene frieze, in the treatment of the forehead, eyes, and mouth, we see an exaggeration of the manner which the heads of Tegea display; and we may distinguish a Pergamene type of countenance as a species of the general Alexandrine type. It is at least a tenable hypothesis that it was the sculpture of Scopas, the great master of the dramatic and pathetic style, that influenced the Pergamene sculptors, whose work is a profuse display of pathos and violent dramatic movement.

L. R. FARNELL.

IMPERIAL CUIRASS-ORNAMENTATION,

AND A

TORSO OF HADRIAN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

IN the last volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (vi. pp. 378-380) Prof. Newton has commented at length on some remarks made by me in the same volume (vi. pp. 199-201) on the torso of an imperial statue found at Cyrene and now in the British Museum. Before considering Mr. Newton's paper in detail I may be permitted to say a few words on the subject of cuirass-ornamentation in general.

In his *Winckelmanns-fest-program* for 1868, Dr. Hübner referred to the want of a classified list of ornamented cuirasses of emperors. No one has, at present, attempted to compile such a list, which would, practically, have to take the form of a complete monograph on *statuac thoracatae*, in which the restorations, style, material, pose, and attribution of each figure would have to be carefully studied. To carry out this work it would be necessary to make a personal examination of a large number of statues which have not hitherto been critically described, and which have suffered greatly at the hands of restorers. A difficulty which specially complicates the study of this class of monuments would also have to be borne in mind—namely, that in many cases the body of imperial statues appears to have been originally made apart from the head. It seems certain that it was sometimes the practice to export from Greece torsos of Greek marble with ornamented cuirasses for sale in Italy or elsewhere—such torsos being provided with heads

(sometimes of inferior work, and of Italian marble) after they had come into the hands of the purchasers. When, therefore, we find in our museums a cuirass-statue with an inserted head made of different material from the rest of the figure, we are not always compelled to assume that there was no connexion in ancient times between that head and its body, though of course in numerous instances the head can be proved either to be not antique or to be an antique head arbitrarily applied to the statue in modern times. (See on this point the important remarks of Benndorf and Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranensischen Museums* (1867), p. 125; Dütschke, *Ant. Bildwerke in Turin*, &c. (1880), No. 55, p. 39; Friedlaender, *Sittengesch. Roms*, iii. p. 187 ff.; Hübner, *Augustus* (1868); and U. Köhler in *Annali* (1863), p. 433.) A paper confined to the present limits obviously makes no pretensions to supply such a monograph as is needed, but the lists here given of different types of cuirass-ornamentation, though not exhaustive, and probably requiring expansion and correction in several details, may be useful to future workers, and may serve as a provisional basis on which to discuss our subject.

The representation of the emperor in military dress is very commonly found in imperial statues of marble and bronze from the time of Augustus till the period of Constantine, or even later. The prominent feature in the costume is a cuirass more or less richly decorated with designs in relief.¹ In the middle of the upper part of the cuirass there is almost invariably present a Gorgoneion which not only formed a convenient ornament, but also served as an *apotropaion*. Sometimes, however, the Gorgoneion is wanting, or its place is taken either by some such device as the mask of a Triton (Clarac, No. 2414, Pl. 338); the Head of Isis (Clarac, No. 2413, Pl. 337); the Head of Poseidon (Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildwerke in Rom*, i. No. 1349), or by a design such as that of Helios in his chariot, rising from the sea (cp. Nos. 31*, 32* in our list, *infra*).

¹ Occasionally the design is of extreme simplicity, e.g. on the 'Panzer-statue mit Kopf (?)', 'Commodus?' found at Olympia (*Die Ausgrab.*, ii. Pl. xxviii.) which is only

ornamented with a gorgoneion-aegis. The statue in Clarac, no. 2487 D., Pl. 936 D has a cuirass entirely covered with an acanthus ornamentation.

The central portion of the cuirass is taken up with a composition which, though varying in subject and details, commonly presents a simple scheme in which two human figures stand one on each side of an inanimate object, such as a Trophy or a Candelabrum. A decorative scheme of this kind is very common on Roman terra-cotta reliefs. (See, for example, reliefs in the British Museum figured in Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, i. pp. 88, 90, 91, 99, 105, 111, 116, 131, 136.) Immediately below the central composition is usually a floral or acanthine ornament, and attached to the lower part of the cuirass are the *πτέρυγες*, or flaps, which are nearly always covered with medallions of various device. The floral ornament of the Hierapytna statue (list, No. 53*) and that of the Cyrene torso (55*) is pierced with holes, evidently for the attachment of some metallic ornament. It is not at all unlikely that the reliefs of cuirasses were picked out with colour: at any rate on the well-known Augustus of the Vatican (No. 68*) there were found distinct traces of colouring; the figures having been carefully painted in blue, red, and yellow, though the ground of the cuirass was left plain.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL TYPES OF CUIRASS-ORNAMENTATION.

TYPE I.—TWO GRIFFINS.

A.—Two Griffins facing one another.

- 1*. Mus. Capitol. Clarac, No. 2318 A, Pl. 912 B.
- 2*. Mus. Capitol. Clarac, No. 2442, Pl. 949.
- 3*. Rome, Coll. Giustiniani. Clarac, No. 2508, Pl. 973.
- 4*. Rome, Coll. Giustiniani. *Gall. Giust.* i. tav. 99; Clarac, No. 2504, Pl. 974; Matz and Von Duhn, *Antik. Bildwerke in Rom*, i. No. 1348.
- 5*. Rome, P. Carpegna. Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1349.
- 6*. Rome, P. Ruspoli. Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1353.
- 7*. Rome, P. Valentin. Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1354.
- 8*. Rome, Stud. Monteverde.—‘Die Arbeit ohne besonderes Verdienst.’ Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1354a.

9*. Mus. Borbonico. Clarac, No. 2318 D, Pl. 916.

10*. Florence, Uffizi. [Trajan?—'Der Kopf ist angesetzt, aber antik.'] Dütschke, *Die antike Marmorbildwerke der Uffizien in Florenz*, No. 59, p. 22.

11*. Florence, Palazzo Pitti. Greek marble. Dütschke, *Zerstreute ant. Bildwerke in Florenz*, No. 8, p. 6.

12*. Mus. Dresden. Clarac, No. 2441, Pl. 949.

13*. British Museum. Found in the Great Theatre at Ephesus. Lower portion of the cuirass, including the lower parts of the Griffin, broken off. Rough work. Engraved, Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, p. 75.¹

B.—Two Griffins; between them, Candelabrum.

14*. Villa Albani. Clarac, No. 2354 C, Pl. 936 A; Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* ii. p. 148, No. 13 (doubtful whether of Tiberius, as Clarac says).

15*. Villa Albani. Clarac, No. 2449 B, Pl. 936 B.

16*. Rome, Coll. Giustiniani. Clarac, No. 2503, Pl. 974.

17*. Rome, P. Rospigliosi. Titus. 'Arbeit municipal.' Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1343.

18*. Mus. Borbonico. Found near Herculaneum. Clarac, No. 2398 C, Pl. 916.

19*. Mus. Borbonico. Cuirass, 'd'un beau travail'; Clarac, No. 2448, Pl. 954.

20*. Mus. Borbonico. Cuirass, 'd'un très-beau travail'; Clarac, No. 2463, Pl. 957.

21*. Glyptothek, Munich. Brunn calls the head Tiberius, but Bernoulli (*Röm. Ikon.* ii. p. 175, No. 36) says it is not of that emperor, rather, perhaps, of Germanicus. 'Der Kopf ist von besserer Arbeit als der wahrscheinlich jüngere decorativ behandelte Panzer'; Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, 3rd ed., Munich, 1873, No. 264, p. 251.

22*. Leyden. Trajan. Found at Utica. 'Een practig bewerkt curas.' Janssen, *Grieksche en Romeinsche Beelden en Beeldwerken*, Leyden, 1849, Pl. V., Fig. 13.

¹ On a headless statue from Carthage in the British Museum, the right [spectator's left] side of the cuirass is ornamented with a Griffin (nota Victory, as described in *British Museum Guide to*

Gracco-Roman Sculptures pt. ii. (1876), p. 37, no. 79): the left side of the cuirass is partially covered by the paludamentum.

- 23*. Louvre. [Caracalla?] Clarac, No. 2485, Pl. 292.
 24*. Louvre. Work well-executed. Clarac, No. 2499, Pl. 292.
 25*. Louvre. Clarac, No. 2501, Pl. 292.
 26*. Louvre. Clarac, No. 2373, Pl. 277.

C.—Two Griffins; between them, plant, flower, &c.

- 27*. Rome, P. Sciarra. (Between Griffins, *plant.*) Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1352.
 28*. Vicenza, Museo Civico. (Between Griffins, *laurel.*) Dütschke, *Ant. Bildwerke in Vicenza, Venedig, &c.*, No. 15, p. 4.
 29*. Rome, P. Torlonia. (Between Griffins, *rose.*) Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1350; *Marmi Torlonia*, i. 15 = Clarac, No. 2450, Pl. 951.
 30*. Palestrina, P. Barberini. (Between Griffins, *thyrsus.*) Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1359.

D.—Two Griffins and two Phrygians.

- 31*. Lateran Mus. On upper part of cuirass, 'Helios' in chariot; sea beneath: in centre of cuirass, two Griffins, to each of which a bearded Barbarian in a Phrygian cap presents a bowl.—Greek marble. Well-executed. Benndorf and Schöne, *Die ant. Bildw. des lateran. Mus.* i. No. 204, p. 124*f.* = Clarac, 2362 A, Pl. 936 E.
 32*. Turin, Museo d'Antichità. On upper part of cuirass, 'Eos' in chariot: in centre of cuirass, on each side of a flower, a Barbarian in a Phrygian cap offering a bowl to a Griffin.—Work, 'fein und sorgfältig.' Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Turin, &c.*, No. 2, p. 2 = Clarac, 2354 A, Pl. 924; *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. de Turin*, 1805, 537*ff.*

[With the Helios and Eos of Nos. 31* and 32*, cp. Monaco, *Les Monum. du Mus. Nat. de Naples*, Pl. 98.]

TYPE II.—TWO VICTORIES; BETWEEN THEM, CANDELABRUM.

- 33*. Villa Albani. (Victories crowning candelabrum: beneath, two chariots.) Probably Augustus (so Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 32, No. 23; *ib.* p. 74). Clarac, No. 2386 A, Pl. 936 B.

34*. Rome, P. Altieri. (Victories crowning candelabrum: upper part of cuirass restored.) Rossi-Maffei, *Raccolta*, tav. cx.; Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1345.

35*. Louvre. (Victories crowning candelabrum.) Cuirass, 'd'un beau travail.' Clarac, No. 2500, Pl. 292.

36*. Villa Albani. (Victories touching candelabrum.) Clarac, No. 2459 C, Pl. 936 A.

37*. Lateran. (Victories touching candelabrum.) Benndorf and Schöne, *Die ant. Bildw. des lateran. Mus.*, No. 587, p. 399.

38*. Parma, Museo d'Antichità. (Victories touching candelabrum.) Found in the ruins of the Basilica of Velleja. Antolini, *Le rovine di Velleja*, ix. 5; Dütschke, *Antik. Bildw. in Vicenza...Parma, &c.*, No. 890; p. 369.

39*. Florence, Palazzo Cepparelli. (Victories touching candelabrum.) The relief 'ist fein gearbeitet'; Dütschke, *Zerstreute ant. Bildw. in Florenz*, No. 409, p. 194.

40*. Louvre. (Victories touching candelabrum.) Cuirass noteworthy. Clarac, No. 2401, Pl. 337; and Pl. 356, No. 29.

41*. Louvre. (Victories touching candelabrum.) Torso of statue found at Gabii. 'D'un travail exquis'; Clarac, No. 2535 [A], Pl. 355.

42*. Glyptothek, Munich. (Victories carrying candelabrum.) Moderate work. Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glypt.*, No. 192, p. 222; Clarac, No. 2481, Pl. 964.

TYPE III.—TWO VICTORIES: BETWEEN THEM, TROPHY.

43*. Rome, P. Colonna. (Victories hanging shields on trophy, near which, barbarian woman and child.) Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1355; Braun, *Ant. Marmorw.* ii. 9.

44*. Turin, Museo d'Antichità. (Victories with shields.) Probably Claudius. From Susa (Segusium). Statue of Pentelic, head of Italian, marble.—'Der angesetzte Kopf von guter Arbeit.' 'Der Sturz von ziemlich handwerksmässiger Arbeit.' Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Turin, &c.*, No. 55, p. 39; Ermanno Ferrero in the *Atti della Società di Archeologia e Belle Arti per la Provincia di Torino*, i. Fasc. 4, Tav. xviii.; cp. Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 335, No. 20.

45*. Landesmuseum at Agram. (Victories with shields; beneath trophy, two bearded captives.) Torso 'aus grauen Stein.' *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, Jahrgang iii. (1879), p. 166.

46*. Louvre. (Victories with shields; beneath, trophy, two captives.) Found at Gabii. Cuirass, 'd'un excellent travail.' Clarac, No. 2414, Pl. 338 and Pl. 356, No. 42.

47*. Madrid. (Victories with shields.) Italian marble. According to Hübner, good work, of the time of Hadrian and the Antonines. Hübner, *Die ant. Bildwerke in Madrid* (1862), No. 81, p. 84 = Clarac, No. 2504 A, Pl. 916 B ('ungenau'); cp. Hübner, 'Augustus' (1868).

48*. Mus. Capitol. (Victories crowning (?) trophy.) [M. Aurelius?] Clarac, No. 2447, Pl. 953.

49*. Rome, Coll. Panfili. (Victories crowning trophy.) Clarac, No. 2507, Pl. 981.

50*. Leyden. (One Victory has wreath, the other, sword.) Janssen, *Grieksche en Romeinsche Beelden*, &c., Pl. V., Fig. 14.

51*. Venice, Palazzo Grimani. (One Victory has wreath, the other, sword.) Dütschke thinks it superior to other similar statues in the fine execution of the details, and in the graceful pose of the figure. Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Venedig, Venedig*, &c., No. 376, p. 146; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.*, p. 36, No. 48 and p. 73; Clarac, No. 2412 A, Pl. 940.

52*. Athens, Kentrikon Mouseion. (Two Victories; between them, trophy.) Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpt. zu Athen*, No. 2150, p. 176.

TYPE IV. A.—TWO VICTORIES CROWNING PALLADIUM.

53*. Constantinople, Imperial Museum. (Beneath Palladium, Wolf and Twins.) Hadrian. Found at Hierapytna in Crete. Photographed, *Gazette archéologique*, 1880, Pl. 6; pp. 52-55; see also *Journ. Hell. Stud.* vi. pp. 199-201 (W. Wroth); *ib.* pp. 378-380 (C. T. Newton) and p. 140 of the present article.

54*. Torso and head of Hadrian from the excavations at Olympia. (Beneath Palladium, Wolf and Twins.) *Ausgrabungen*, ii. Pl. xxix.; iv. p. 13; v. Pl. xxiv. No. 3; p. 15.

55*. British Museum. (Beneath Palladium, Wolf and Twins.) Torso found at Cyrene. *Brit. Mus. Guide to Græco-*

Roman Sculptures, pt. i. (1879), p. 21, No. 46; p. 16 in ed. of 1874. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* vi. pp. 199-201; 378-380 and p. 138 of this article; Friederichs and Wolters, *Die Gipsabgüsse ant. Bildw.* (Berlin, 1885), No. 1655, pp. 668, 669.

56*. Berlin Museum. (No wolf and twins.) Augustus: according to Hübner has its own head, though head and body are of different marbles. Hübner, *Augustus, Marmorstatue des Berl. Mus.* (Berlin, 1868); Clarac, No. 2335, Pl. 914; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 42, No. 87; p. 73.

57*. Mus. Borbonico. (No wolf and twins.) 'Beau torso.' Clarac, No. 2412, Pl. 942.

58*. Athens. (Fragment: no wolf and twins?) Hübner, *Augustus* (1868), Pl. ii. No. 2; p. 12; Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, No. 5957, p. 373; Friederichs and Wolters, *Die Gipsabgüsse ant. Bildw.* (Berlin, 1885), No. 1656, p. 669.

59*. Vatican. (Two Victories and Palladium [? Trophy]: no wolf and twins.) Clarac, No. 2479, Pl. 964; cp. Hübner, *Augustus* (1868), p. 12.

TYPE IV. B.—TWO DANCING-GIRLS; BETWEEN THEM. PALLADIUM.

60*. Mus. Borbonico. 'La cuirasse est fort belle d'exécution.' Clarac, No. 2505, Pl. 973.

61*. Turin, Museo d'Antichità. Found at Susa (Segusium). Cuirass of fine work. Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Turin*, No. i. p. 1, and reff. there; Hübner, *Augustus* (1868); Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 200, No. 1; Clarac, No. 2326, Pl. 919.

TYPE V.—TWO CAPTIVES.

62*. Rome, Coll. Torlonia. (A male and a female barbarian captive seated opposite one another.) Matz and Von Duhn, *Die ant. Bildw. in Rom*, No. 1351; *Marmi Torlonia*, ii. 58; Clarac, No. 2480, Pl. 965.

63*. Villa Borghèse. (In central portion of cuirass, two captives.) Clarac, No. 2449 A, Pl. 964.

64*. Louvre. (Trophy, on each side of it, a captive.) 'Fine-ment décorée de sculptures.' Clarac, No. 2413, Pl. 337.

TYPE VI.—TWO NEREIDS ON SEA-HORSES.

65*. Head and torso of Titus from excavations at Olympia. (Two Nereids on sea-horses; beneath, two dolphins.) Good work. *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, iii. Pl. xix. No. 3; p. 13; iv. p. 13; v. Pl. xxiv. No. 2; p. 15.

66*. Athens, Kentrikon Mouseion. (On breast, Selene (?) in chariot; beneath, two Nereids on sea-horses.) Torso from Megara. Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, No. 421, p. 76.

67*. Lowther Castle, England. ([Two?] Nereids on sea-horses, carrying the armour of Achilles.) Found in the Villa of Alexander Severus, near the Via Ostiensis. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 490, No. 13.

TYPE VII.—HISTORICAL SUBJECTS.

68*. Vatican. Augustus. From Porta Prima, about nine miles from the Porta del Popolo, Rome. Fine work. On upper part of cuirass, Caelus (God of the Sky); beneath him, Sol in chariot, preceded by Pandrosos and Aurora. In centre of cuirass, a warrior [Mars? Augustus?], attended by a wolf, receives standards from a Parthian. To right and left of central group, a captive; beneath central group, Tellus reclining; Apollo; Diana.—*Monumenti*, vi. Pl. 84, 1, 2; Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique; Annali*, 1863, p. 432 (Köhler); Hübner, *Augustus* (1863), p. 9f.; L. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 675; Friederichs and Wolters, *Die Gipsabgüsse ant. Bildw.* (Berlin, 1885), pp. 663–665, No. 1640; O. Jahn, *Aus der Alerthumswissenschaft*, Pl. 6, pp. 259, 285; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. pp. 24–27; 72; W. C. Perry, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts at South Kensington Museum* (London, 1884), p. 112, No. 241.

VIII.—VARIOUS TYPES.

69*. Villa Albani. Geta? Two figures (Hercules and a nymph?) reclining. Clarac, No. 2486 B, Pl. 236 D.

70*. Rome, P. Colonna. Palladium; beneath, Ge and Okeanos reclining. Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1357; Braun, *Ant. Marmorw.* ii. 10.

71*. British Museum. Doubtful if the head (Hadrian) belongs to it. Female figure (Fortune or Victory) holding palm-branch and cornucopiae; on right and left, two captives, each kneeling at the foot of a trophy; beneath, reclining female figure (Abundantia or Tellus). *Anc. Marbles in Brit. Mus.* xi. Pl. 45; Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, i. p. 256; *Guide to the Græco-Roman Sculptures in Brit. Mus.* (1874), Part i., p. 8, No. 19 (so also in ed. of 1879); Clarac, No. 2420, Pl. 944.

72*. Mus. Pioclém. Found at Castra Nuovo. Cuirass similar to No. 71*. Clarac, No. 2462, Pl. 957.

73*. Mantua (Museo). Pentelic marble. Female captive (?) near trophy (?); on each side, Nike slaying ox. Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Turin...und Mantua*, No. 634, p. 279; Labus, *Museo della reale Accademia di Mantova*, ii. Tav. xl. [The familiar figure of Nike slaying an ox occurs also on a cuirass in P. Sciarra, Rome; see Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1361.]

74*. Naples. Caligula (probably). From Minturnæ. Horse attacked by Chimaera; beneath, rider, thrown. 'Très-belle.' Clarac, No. 2375, Pl. 933; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 306, No. 9.¹

Most of the cuirasses described in the above lists appear on torsos, many of which have been restored and provided with

¹ Some further references to various cuirasses &c., may here be added:—Benedorf and Schöne, *Die ant. Bildw. des lateran. Mus.*, 1867, No. 497; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 306, No. 10 = Clarac, No. 2374, pl. 933; Clarac, No. 2353, pl. 924; No. 2420 B, pl. 936 A; No. 2509, pl. 973; No. 2502, pl. 974; No. 2525, pl. 980 = Mich. F. v. Jabornegg-Altenfels, *Kärnten's römische Alterthümer*, Klagenfurt, 1870, p. 145, No. cccclxix; Dütschke, *Zerstreute ant. Bildw. in Florenz*, Giardino Boboli, No. 88 (22), p. 46; Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Turin, Brescia, Verona and Mantua*, No. 678, p. 304, 'Hadriansbuste' (Mantua); *ib.* No. 857, No. 372 (cuirass); Friedlaender in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1860, p. 34; pl. 136, *Der Erz Coloss von Barletta*; Heydemann, *Die ant.*

Marmor - Bildwerke . . . zu Athen (Berlin, 1874), No. 422 (150) p. 162; *ib.* No. 608 (186), p. 221; Hübner, *Die ant. Bildw. in Madrid*, No. 82, p. 85; *ib.* Nos. 692, 693, p. 294; Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1344 (cuirass plain); *ib.* No. 1346, 1347; No. 1360 (fragment of cuirass, 'Victory with vexillum'); No. 1361 A; No. 1362; L. von Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, No. 420, p. 76; No. 422, p. 77, 'Torso einer (unteritalischen?) Stadtgöttin; aus der Kaiserzeit.' She wears a cuirass with a representation of Skylla, see authorities cited by Sybel; *ib.* No. 423, p. 77; No. 3919, p. 281; No. 3944, p. 282; No. 4849, p. 331; No. 5956, p. 373; No. 6394, p. 395; No. 6488, p. 399; No. 6608, p. 405.

heads of emperors: the number of cuirasses on statues which undoubtedly or probably retain their original heads—and these alone have been noted in our lists—is, unfortunately, extremely small. It is thus very difficult to determine when any particular type of cuirass first made its appearance; how long it continued in use; and whether different types were appropriated to different emperors. The commonest type is No. I., in which two Griffins are represented either facing one another, or with their fore-paws placed on a candelabrum or a plant. This singularly banal device certainly came into use for cuirass-ornamentation in the first century A.D., and was employed during the second century, and probably later. It was, no doubt, derived—though we cannot trace all the steps of descent—from some such ancient design as that on the relief with Griffins, in the Louvre, found at Arados (figured, Mitchell, *Hist. of Anc. Sculpture*, p. 115). Originally the plant was a sacred tree, but by the time it appeared on Roman cuirasses it had become a mere piece of decoration, and its place might equally well be taken by a candelabrum or a thyrsus. The style of the griffin-cuirasses varies a good deal, some specimens being stone-masons' work of the most ordinary kind, while others, especially in Type I. *B*, are finely executed. A more pleasing variety of the type may be found in I. *D*, in which two Barbarians are offering the Griffins drink from a bowl. This last design is found also on Roman terra-cotta reliefs (*e.g.* on a relief in the British Museum, figured in Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, i. p. 91).

Hardly less numerous than the griffin-cuirasses are those on which two figures of Victory appear; in our lists, the varieties of this scheme are treated as distinct types (II., III., IV. A.). Type II. (Victories and candelabrum) first occurs on a statue which is probably of Augustus (No. 33*). Several specimens are of good work. In Type III. the Victories are hastening towards a trophy upon which they generally hang their shields¹; sometimes two captives are seen beneath the trophy. On a statue at Venice, which is stated to be exceptionally fine (No. 51*; cp. 50*), one Victory brings to the trophy a wreath, the other, a sword. The first appearance of this type is on a

¹ Cf. the Victories holding shields Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, ii. p. 142, f. &c., on the reliefs of Sarcophagi,

figure which may be of Claudius (No. 44*). More interesting is Type IV. A., in which the Victories are engaged in crowning an archaic, or, rather, archaistic, figure holding spear and shield. This figure has sometimes been called Roma, but it is certainly Pallas, or the Palladium, for on some examples it is accompanied by an owl and serpent. On Nos. 53*, 54*, 55* an additional device—the Wolf and Twins—is placed beneath the Palladium. The type thus amplified occurs on two statues of Hadrian (53*, 54*), and its introduction has been plausibly attributed by Dr. Treu (*Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, iv. p. 13) to that Emperor himself:—‘Die Beziehung des reichen Reliefschmuckes am Panzer [No. 54* of our lists] auf dem Philhellenen unter den römischen Kaisern ist jetzt unverkennbar; die Vereinigung des altertümlichen Schnitzbildes der athenischen Burggöttin mit der römischen Wölfin ist ganz in seinem Sinne.’ It is not at all unlikely that this type may have been specially used for cuirasses of Hadrian, though it must be remarked that the type of two Victories crowning the Palladium occurs—though without the addition of the Wolf and Twins—on the Berlin statue which bears the head of Augustus (No. 56*). The place of the Victories (who wear either long or short chitons) is occasionally taken (IV. B) by Dancing-girls, such as those which appear on a marble candelabrum in the Louvre and on other monuments (see reff. in Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klass. Altertums*, s.v. ‘Hierodulenz’).

As type V., I have classed three specimens bearing figures of Captives. Type VI. is a somewhat graceful representation of two Nereids on sea-horses. On No. 67*, found in the Villa of Alexander Severus, near the Via Ostiensis, the Nereids are carrying the armour of Achilles—a subject which, as is well known, is found on all classes of Greek and Roman monuments. (See a list in Heydemann’s monograph, *Nereiden mit den Waffen des Achill*, Halle, 1879.) The type of two Nereids was used on cuirasses at least as early as the reign of Titus (see No. 65*). Type VII. (No. 68*)—the Vatican Augustus—seems to be a unique instance of a cuirass-relief making allusion to a historical event. As has already been pointed out by several writers, we have here a record of the famous recovery of the Roman standards from the Parthians. It is the Golden Age of Augustus: sun and sky are smiling upon the fruitful earth, and

Apollo and Diana are present as the patrons of the Roman state¹:—

‘Tua, Caesar, aetas
Fruges et agris rettulit uberes
Et signa nostro restituit Jovi
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus, et vacuum duellis
Janum Quirini clausit.’²

Between the devices which decorate the *πτέρυγες* of nearly all cuirasses there is a strong family likeness, and it does not appear that each type of cuirass was accompanied by a distinct set of *πτέρυγες*. The staple ornamentation consists of animals' heads, interspersed with human heads, weapons, rosettes, &c. Type I. (Griffins) seems rather to have a predilection for *πτέρυγες* adorned with heads of animals (lions, rams, eagles, &c.); Types III. and IV. usually display among the medallion-ornaments a head of Ammon (in the centre) and a head of Medusa. One cuirass of Type III. (no. 50*) has representations of ten Labours of Herakles on its *πτέρυγες*, but as a rule there is little variety in this part of cuirasses, though sometimes the medallions (*e.g.* the Medusa-heads) are executed with much refinement.

We have now to consider the torso from Cyrene, referred to at the beginning of this article (no. 55* in Lists). Professor Newton thinks that this torso belongs to the Augustan Age, and I admit that the refined work of which, though sadly weather-worn, it still shows traces is worthy of that period. Fine cuirass-ornamentation is not, however, the monopoly of the Augustan Age, for, as our lists of Types will abundantly prove, good work is found on Imperial cuirasses of nearly every class. Many of the fine cuirasses cannot, indeed, be dated with certainty, but it will hardly be maintained that they *all* belong to the age of Augustus, and some we know positively to be of post-Augustan periods. Stylistic considerations do not then necessarily compel us to assign this torso to the time of Augustus. I proposed to name it Hadrian, mainly on account of the resemblance of its cuirass to that on a statue

¹ Cp. Hor., *Carm. Sacc.* and Boissier, 80 ff.
La Religion romaine (1878), i. p.

² Hor., *Carm.* iv. 15, 4.

found at Hierapytna in Crete which has its original head—a head which I did not think would be disputed to be that of Hadrian (see the statue photographed in *Gazette Archéologique*, 1880, pl. 6, pp. 52–55; Lists, 53*). The emperor in that statue is trampling on a captive, and as this is a motive of extreme rarity, I, perhaps, went too far in assuming that the Cyrene torso originally presented precisely the same motive. I still think, however, that that torso need not of necessity be assigned to the time of Augustus, and that when complete it was probably a statue of Hadrian.

Mr. Newton has drawn up in his paper the following list of cuirasses on which are designs described by him as similar to those on the Cyrene and Hierapytna monuments:—

1. Clarac, Pl. 919, No. 2326. (Turin.)
2. Clarac, Pl. 942, No. 2412. (Naples.)
3. Clarac, Pl. 963 [misprint for 964], No. 2479. (Vatican.)
4. Clarac, Pl. 973, No. 2505. (Naples.)
5. 'Augustus' at Berlin [No. 56* in our List of Types].
6. Torso and head from Olympia [No. 54* in our List of Types].
7. Fragment at Athens [No. 58* in our List of Types].

And he remarks that it is incumbent upon me to prove that *all* these statues and torsos represent the Emperor Hadrian rather than any other emperor. Certainly if they all displayed cuirasses *identical* with the Cyrene cuirass it would be necessary to take them all into consideration; but in so far as they are not identical with that cuirass they may surely be set aside as irrelevant to the argument. Now, No. 1 in Mr. Newton's list does not represent—as the Cyrene torso does—two Victories crowning the Palladium, but two dancing-girls engaged in that act. No. 4 also may be set aside as it does not present the figures of Victory. In fact, the only cuirass in the list which exactly presents the Cyrene cuirass-scheme of Victories, Palladium, Wolf and Twins, is No. 6—and that is a statue of Hadrian. Nos. 2, 5 and 7 (and perhaps No. 3) have the Victories and the Palladium, but are without the Wolf and Twins. I do not feel sure that the absence of the Wolf and Twins constitutes a distinct type of cuirass, and so far I admit that the existence of these four monuments—one is of Augustus and the others cannot

be assigned—renders the attribution of the Cyrene cuirass to Hadrian less certain than it would otherwise be, though it certainly does not seem to invalidate that attribution altogether.¹

A cuirass practically identical with that on the Cyrene torso occurs, then, on two monuments—the head and torso found at Olympia (No. 54*)—and on the Hierapytna statue. Are these two monuments of Hadrian?

The torso of the Olympian statue was found by itself in the Exedra, but its head was fortunately afterwards discovered. Dr. Treu calls it the head of Hadrian, and in this he seems to me perfectly justified.

The attribution to Hadrian of the Hierapytna statue has, on every ground, been called in question by Mr. Newton. He considers it to be the statue of some emperor (whom he does not name) of the third century A.D.; and with regard to its style generally he pronounces it the ‘clumsy work of a provincial artist, just such as might have been expected in an island like Crete.’ Mr. Newton does not state that he speaks from a personal examination of the statue, but, in any case, an opinion from him on a question of style deserves serious consideration.² Against it must be set, however, the opinion of Longpérier who recognized in the figure ‘une des plus belles statues d’Hadrien’; the opinions—incidentally expressed—of Dr. Treu (*Die Ausgrab. zu Olymp.* v. p. 15), and of Dr. Wolters (*Die Gipsabgüsse ant. Bildw.*, Berlin, 1885, pp. 668, 669, no. 1655), both of whom admit the Hadrian attribution; the opinion of M. E. Goold, who in his Catalogue of the Imperial Museum of Constantinople (cited *Gaz. Arch.*, 1880, p. 53) describes it as ‘fort belle’;³ and finally the opinion of M. Sorlin-Dorigny, who, though admitting that the statue as a whole is ‘d’un aspect un peu lourd,’ speaks of it as one of ‘les plus belles statues iconographiques de l’Empire romain.’ Even, however, if we were forced to adopt Mr. Newton’s

¹ The object placed between the Victories on No. 3 is called by Clarac (No. 2479, pl. 964) the ‘Palladium,’ though it is not very distinct in his engraving, and Hübner (*Augustus* (1868), p. 12) calls it a trophy. No. 7 is a fragment and it is impossible to say whether it originally had or had not the Wolf and Twins device.

² M. Dethier of the Constantinople Museum called the statue ‘Caracalla,’ but it certainly has not the characteristic head and features of that Emperor.

³ I regret that I have not had access to a copy of Mons. S. Reinach’s Catalogue of the Constantinople Museum.

view as to the very inferior style of the statue, we should not *necessarily* have to pronounce it a monument of the third century: it might have been badly executed even in the time of Hadrian—might be, in fact, a clumsy copy by a provincial artist, just such as might have been expected in an island like Crete.

With regard to the motive of this statue, Mr. Newton remarks: 'the action of trampling on a fallen foe is a motive which, so far as can be gathered from the evidence of coins, is more characteristic of the third and fourth centuries A.D. than of the age of Hadrian.' He does not bring forward any direct evidence as to the usage of statuaries in the matter, and so far as I have myself noticed this motive in an imperial statue is at present unique. I fully admit the justice of Mr. Newton's remark about the numismatic analogies, though even there the evidence is not all one way, for on a coin of Rhescuporis II., who was ruler of Bosphoros in the latter part of the first century A.D., we find the king represented standing with one of his feet resting on the back of a captive (see Koehne, *Mus. Kotschoubey*, p. 231, pl. xi. no. 26).

The statue, as I have already stated, retains its original head. This head is adorned with a wreath, in the centre of which is placed a medallion, and Mr. Newton states that he would 'not have expected' such a head-dress on a statue of Hadrian. It is, however, a fact that this head-dress was used for imperial busts and statues in the time of Hadrian and in the second century A.D. It is found (1) on a head of Trajan preserved in the Glyptothek at Munich (Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glypt.*, no. 268, p. 252); (2) on the head of Hadrian himself, found at Olympia (*Ausgrabungen*, v. pl. xxiv. no. 3; p. 15); and (3) on the head of Antoninus Pius, also found at Olympia (*Ausgrab.* iii. pl. xx. no. 5; p. 14).

To myself the features of the Hierapytna statue certainly seemed and still seem to be those of the Emperor Hadrian. This also was the opinion of Longpérier, Sorlin-Dorigny, Wolters, and Treu. And I may add that two of my friends who (like myself) have to deal almost daily with the varied imperial portraiture of Greek and Roman coins, on seeing the photograph of the statue pronounced its head to be that of Hadrian. The head, moreover, bears, both in head dress and features, a very close resemblance to the head found at Olympia (*Ausgrabungen*,

v. pl. xxiv. no. 3; p. 15), which is called Hadrian by Dr. Treu. Mr. Newton briefly refers in his paper to the discovery of the latter head, but I rather think that the photograph of it (in vol. v. of the *Ausgrabungen*) was not accessible when he wrote: if he now pronounces it to be Hadrian he will be almost compelled, I think, to admit that the head of the Hierapytna statue is likewise Hadrian. If, however, he still maintains that the Hierapytna statue belongs to the third century A.D., the task will devolve on him of naming some third century emperor to whose features its head bears a much closer resemblance than it bears to those of Hadrian.

This statue may, then, I hope be considered to be certainly of Hadrian, and as both it and the Olympian statue of Hadrian are ornamented with cuirasses practically identical with the cuirass on the Cyrene torso, I would submit that the name of Hadrian rather than that of Augustus should be given to the torso in question.

WARWICK WROTH.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL VISIT TO SAMOS.

ENGLISH enterprise in excavation has been considerably checked of late years by the impossibility of obtaining anything like fair terms from the Greek or Turkish governments. Greece will grant concessions on an agreement being duly signed that everything found shall belong to the Greek government and that the works shall be superintended by a Greek *ἐφορος* who has been educated in Germany. Turkey whose relations with the English Government have of late been rather strained will come to no arrangement whatsoever. So we chose Samos last winter as a likely field owing to its having an independent government, but this government in every way follows the lines of Greece, and though I tried hard to obtain a concession for taking away one half or one third of the things found I was eventually obliged to sign the same agreement which the French excavator M. Clerk had signed two years before, and which stipulated that everything found should belong to Samos. Consequently if English archaeologists wish to prosecute researches on the actual soil of Hellas, it remains for them to decide whether they are sufficiently remunerated for their trouble and outlay by the bare honour of discovering statues, inscriptions, and other treasures to be placed in the museum of Athens, or, as is the case in Turkey, for the inhabitants to make chalk of, or build into their houses.

Between the time of my landing in Samos and the time when the council would meet which could grant the leave to excavate six weeks elapsed which we spent in visiting some of the neighbouring islands to inspect the antiquities. There is a small group of islands called the Fournoi near Samos, the principal of which is now called Krousae, the ancient Corassia, and on the hill close to the harbour are considerable remains of an Hellenic town

built on a marble rock which has been much cut and adorned ; under the highest point stood a colossal statue the holes for the feet of which are still visible with an inscription round the base so obliterated that scarcely any letters can be deciphered ; this was the case too with numerous rock-cut inscriptions and ornamentations which covered this rock. On the coast of Corassia about 10 miles from the town is the base of an Hellenic marble temple with a well-preserved approach, but on the top two small Byzantine churches had been erected, and in digging here we failed to find any inscription or further trace of antiquity.

Patmos, Leipsò and Archi form another group at some little distance from Samos, and at Patmos near the harbour are traces of a considerable Hellenic town built in dark stone and without a single trace of marble. On the western extremity are the ruins of a temple of considerable size and one portion of the city walls is built of polygonal stones whereas the other is constructed of well-cut rectangular ones. To the north the walls are flanked by two square towers, which form a sort of platform, and close to them is easily to be distinguished the ancient gateway into the town. The circle of the walls must be at least a mile and a half, and the *débris* inside prove it to have been a place of considerable importance.

On Leipsò, which lies a little to the east of Patmos, there are several traces of ancient habitations. Though most of these seem to belong to the Roman period, there are traces of a fine Hellenic fortress commanding the harbour, from which the following inscription was taken :—

ΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙ
ΟΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΥ
ΦΡΟΥΡΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΝΗΣ
ΣΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΕΙ
ΡΗΝΙΟΥ ΦΥΣΕΙ ΔΕ
ΕΛΛΙΝΟΥ ΑΝΗΡ ΔΙ
ΚΑΙΟΣ

On Gadharònisi, or Agathònisi, a small low island, formerly Ladè, the scene of the naval battle between the Ionians and the Persians, we saw considerable traces of ancient buildings. To

complete our tour of the islands of the Ikarian Sea we then went to Nikaria, and here, from what we heard from the inhabitants, we hoped to be able to do some profitable excavation. For this purpose I endeavoured to secure the leave of the Kaimakam, but I was told that we should not be allowed even to see the antiquities with our eyes, or to visit any of the villages. At this threat we laughed, but found that we could persuade no boatman or muleteer to accompany us; and after being virtually prisoners for several days in Nikaria, we got a boat to take us to Samos.

We commenced our excavations at Tigani, the site of the old capital of Samos, and the first difficulty that presented itself was this, that the whole area of the ruined town, several miles in circumference, is now planted with vineyards; and to purchase a vineyard at haphazard for excavation would have not only been a very doubtful speculation, but would have exhausted most of my funds. So we determined on digging only on waste places, and in one or two fields, where the proprietors gave us permission free of charge. We first opened several graves, and found several stelae on a spot called Glyphada. The stelae of Samos are nearly all alike very well executed, with the armour and habiliments of the deceased sculptured on the background. In the tombs we found only a few insignificant objects, and then we turned our attention to a waste field which the proprietor said was so full of marble that he had never been able to plant anything in it. After several days' digging, and the discovery of much marble of no special merit, we came across a large marble, on the uppermost side of which was a long Greek inscription (see below), and on the lower side a Byzantine one; in point of fact, all the remains on this spot showed that they had been used for some considerable Byzantine building, into which ancient stones had been introduced for ornamentation.

We found it precisely the same in the next field we attacked, out of which some lovely marbles were disinterred, which will probably soon be used for the foundations of a pier, which is at present being constructed at Tigani, and which already contains the pillars and decorations of two temples which were excavated some years ago. We were told that all the Hellenic treasures lay buried beneath the late Roman and Byzantine town; so we went very deep in one or two places, but found no trace of

foundations below those on which the Roman buildings had been erected. At another point we came across a Roman villa, with a beautifully tessellated marble floor. The subsequent occupations and spoliations of the ancient town of Samos seem to leave little hope of valuable discoveries being made here, unless at a great outlay of money in buying up the vineyards and working steadily through them. The French excavators at the Heraeon came to the same conclusion. After working through Byzantine and Roman rubbish they came upon the Hellenic foundations, and nothing more.

As these results were not altogether satisfactory, and as we had exhausted most of the available waste ground at Tigani, we decided on visiting other parts of the island, where Hellenic remains exist.

At Potamos, a lovely gorge to the north of the island, we found traces of a town, close to which was a ruined Byzantine church, with four Corinthian pillars, huge blocks of stone and cut jasper, probably from some ancient temple. In digging on a tiny plain beneath this we came across the remains of Hellenic buildings, in one of which was a marble slab, rounded at one end, 2 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 2 feet 9; this marble was very neatly worked with a rim round the edge, and a lip at one end from which the juice of something pressed on the slab was evidently intended to run. Underneath the marble was most carefully worked with slight ornamentation.

To the south of the island, under the slopes of Mt. Kerketeus, which after Samothrace is the highest mountain in the Archipelago, we found the remains of an extensive Greek town, at a spot called Kastri, where we pitched our tent and decided to work for several days. The brow of a low hill is encircled in terraces by massive Hellenic masonry, and here we dug up a large basalt grinding mill, six feet in diameter, with a central pivot for the handle of the grindstone, rising fourteen inches from the level of the bowl. The thickness of the outer rim was four inches at the edge, but the thickness below was very great, and underneath it was not cut at all, whereas inside it was very neatly finished off with chiselled wavy lines from the pivot to the edge. A few yards from this we found the stone which had evidently been used for grinding. Amongst these walls we found nothing but Byzantine remains, and on the plain just

below we found the ruins of a large Byzantine church, in digging amongst the ruins of which we came across many pieces of ancient marble carving.

Our last excavation on Samos was made near Karlövassi, to the north, where our attention was drawn to the foundations of a large Hellenic building, seventy feet long by fifty wide, constructed of enormous stones, the centre of which had been converted into a barley field. For a small sum we compounded with the farmer, who rented the land, for his crop, and proceeded to dig, and came across many curious cross walls inside the building, which would have doubtless formed an interesting plan if we had been allowed to clear the whole area; but the actual owner of the soil, whose consent we had unfortunately omitted to obtain, came down upon us before we had proceeded very far, and in most abusive terms drove us from our work.

We heard of two other places near here where antiquities had been found, but considering the difficulties in our way, and the unsatisfactory conditions of my agreement, I elected to excavate no more in Samos.

J. THEODORE BENT.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM SAMOS.

THE chief fruit of Mr. Theodore Bent's recent visit to Samos is the discovery of an important agonistic inscription, which gives a list of victors in some games at Samos, probably the Heraea. The limits of date are given on the one hand by the mention of Apameia, founded by Seleucus Nicator, on the other hand by the absence of all Roman names. The forms of the letters with their squareness and strongly marked extremities seem to indicate the second century B.C.

The Heraea were celebrated at Samos from early times. Plutarch tells us that after the battle of Aegospotami the Samians renamed the festival after Lysander. But it soon

resumed the older name. In one inscription of imperial times¹ it is called ἐπώνυμος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς βασιλείου θεᾶς Ἡρᾶς ἁγών; in an inscription of the Antonine age² the festival is termed τὰ μεγάλα Σεβαστὰ Ἡραῖα. The festival was doubtless a great Ionic πανηγυρίς, attended by all the pleasure-loving people of the coast and worthy of the language in which the Homeric hymn speaks of the Delian festival.

Nevertheless until the present inscription was discovered we knew but little about it. Fragments of lists of victors had been discovered at Samos, but the most important of these³ does not refer to the Heraea, but to the training of Ephebi. An inscription⁴ which does seem to record victors in the Heraea is much mutilated. It is therefore of great interest to bring to light so full a list of victors at the Heraea, one of the most complete agonistic lists indeed in existence.⁵

The inscribed part of the stone is about 4½ feet by 1 foot in size; the letters half an inch high and clearly cut where not injured. I edit, at Mr. Bent's request, from a squeeze taken by him, and therefore labour under some disadvantage as compared with any scholar who may have access to the stone itself.

1 ΕΠΙΑΝΤΙΓΑΤΡΟΥΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΤΩΝΕΡΜΙΓΓΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ[]ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥΤΟΥΑΓΓΟΛΛΟ
 ΔΟΤΟΥ
 ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥΤΟΥ[]ΔΟΥΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧ
 ΟΥΝΤΟΣΣΩΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΤΟΥΣΩΣ[]ΤΟΥ
 ΤΟΥΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥΕΝΙΚΩΝΟΙΔΕ
 ΣΑΛΓΙΣ[]ΟΥΣΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΣΚΗΡΥΞ
 ΕΥΒΙΟΣΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΥΓΓΟΚΡΙΤΗΣΓΑΛΑΙΑΣΤΡΑ
 ΓΩΔΙΑΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
 ΝΙΚΑΡΧ[]ΜΠΑΔΙΤΟΥΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΥΤΟΥΣΑΓΓΟ
 ΓΡΩΤΩΝΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥΧΗΣΙΕΥΣ

¹ No. 38, in the collection in Stam-
 atiades' *Samiaka*.

² *Ibid.* No. 58.

³ *Ibid.* No. 44 (1-3).

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 44 (4).

⁵ Some of the most important lists

published are *C. I. G.* 1584, 2214,
 2758. The nearest parallels, however,
 to the present list are those recently
 found at the site of the Amphiaraeum
 at Oropus in Boeotia. See *Ephem. Arch.*
 1884, p. 124.

- 5 ΛΑΜΠΑΔΑΡΧΗΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΗΣΑΡΙΣΤΙΓΓΟΥΧΗΣΙ
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ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΟΥ
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ΤΩΝΚΑΙΝΩΝΤΡΑΓ[]Δ[]ΣΩΣ[]ΤΡΑΤ
[]ΥΓΟΚΡΙΤΑΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
ΝΙΚΑΙΟΥΜΙΛΗΣΙΟΣ
- 10 ΤΟΥΣΓΟΙΗΤΑΣΤΩΝΚΑΙΝΩΝΚΩΜΩΔΙΩΝΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ
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ΓΟΡΑΣΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣΜΑΛΛΩΤΗΣ
ΠΑΙΔΑΣΔΟΛΙΧΟΝΑΣΚΛΗΓΙΑΔΗΣΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ
ΑΝΔΡΑΣΑΓΓΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΑΛΚΙΓΓΟΥΕΦΕΣΙΟΣ
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ΑΝΔΡΑΣΣΩΤΩΝΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΠΑΙΔΑΣΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣΑΤΤΑΛΟΥΑΝΔΡΑΣΣΩΤΩΝΚΑΛΛΙ
ΚΡΑΤΟΥΓΓ[]ΛΟΝΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΣΣΗΝΟΔΟΥ
ΜΑΓΝΗΣΑΓΓΟΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΥΠΑΙΔΑΣΠΑΛΗΝΤΙΜΟΘΕ
ΟΣΙΓΓΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΑΓΓΑΜΕΥΣΑΓΓΟΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΑΝΔΡΑΣΑΡΧΩΝΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΠΑΙΔΑΣΠΥΓΜΗΝ
(line 14 Wanting)
- 15 []ΠΑΙΔΑΣΠΑΓΚ[]
ΟΝΑΜΜΩΝΙ[]

1. Ἐπὶ Ἀντιπάρχου· ἀγωνοθετούντων Ἑρμίππου τοῦ [],
Ἀριστείδου τοῦ Ἀπολλοδότου,
Νικολάου τοῦ []δου· γυμνασιάρχουτος Σωσιστράτου
τοῦ Σωσ[ιστρά]του τοῦ νεωτέρου· ἐνίκων οἶδε·

- σαλπισ[τής] οὖς Τραλλιανός· κήρυξ Εὐβιος Σωστρά-
του· ὑποκριτῆς παλαιᾶς τραγωδίας Δημήτριος
Νικάρχ[ου· τῇ λα]μπάδι τοῦ Ἑφαίστου τοὺς ἀπὸ πρώτων
Λεωνίδης Θεοδώρου Χησιεύς,
5. λαμπαδάρχης Ἀριστομένης Ἀριστίππου Χησιεύς· [τοῦ]ς
διδασκάλους τῶν κιθαριστῶν Καλλικράτης Καλλικράτου.
αὐλῇ]τῆς Νειλεὺς Ἀμμωνίου α[ὐλφδ]ὸς Κιθαριστίων []
Ἀντιγόνου φύσει δὲ Σιμακῶντος· κιθαροδὸς Λύκων·
αὐλῶν []τ[]ραν [] Χησιεύς· λ[αμπαδιστ]ῆς Σώτων
Καλλικράτου Χησιεύς· λαμπαδάρχης
Ποσειδίπ[πος] οὖ Χησιεύς· τοὺς ποιητὰς [τῶ]ν καινῶν
σατύρων Ἀρχένomos Ἑρμία Ῥόδιος· τοὺς ποιητὰς
τῶν καινῶν τραγ[ω]δ[ιῶν] Σωσ[ί]στρατ[ος] τοὺς]
ὑποκριτὰς Δημήτριος Νικαίου Μιλήσιος·
10. τοὺς ποιητὰς τῶν καινῶν κωμωδιῶν Ἀρίστων Τιμοσ[τρά]του
Ἀθηναῖος, ὑποκριτῆς Καμναγόρας Στράτωνος Μαλ-
λώτης·
παῖδας δόλιχον Ἀσκληπιάδης Δημοκράτου· ἄνδρας Ἀπολ-
λώνιος Ἀλκίππου Ἐφέσιος· παῖδας στάδιον Ἀγαθοκλῆς
Ἀττάλου·
ἄνδρας Σώτων Καλλικράτου· παῖδας δίαυλον Ἀγαθοκλῆς
Ἀττάλου· ἄνδρας Σώτων Καλλικράτου· π[ένταθ]λον
Ἀριστεὺς Ζηνοδότου
Μάγνης ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου· παῖδας πάλην Τιμόθεος Ἴππο-
στράτου Ἀπαμεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου· ἄνδρας Ἀρχων
Ἀρχοντος· παῖδας πυγμῇν
15. παῖδας παγκ[ράτι]ον Ἀμμώνι[ος]

The list falls naturally into two sections at the eleventh line ; the first part commemorates the victors in music, with which curiously the torch race is included ; the second part the victors in gymnastic contests. The competitions are

(1) With the trumpet or bugle.

(2) Of heralds.

(3) Of actors of ancient tragedy (see below).

(4) In a torch race in honour of Hephaestus, the trainer also receiving a prize. Such contests were common in Greece and are mentioned by Herodotus.¹ The phrase τοὺς ἀπὸ πρώτων is discussed below.

¹ viii. 98. Cf. Schoemann *Griech. Alterth.*, 3rd. edit. ii. 519.

(5) Of trainers of lyrists.

(6) With the flute.

(7) In singing to the flute. The word *αὐλῳδός* is supplied, assuming that Kitharistion is a proper name; an adopted son of Antigonos, but actually son of Simaeon. Before *Ἀντιγόνου* there is space for three letters only, which seems fatal to the alternative view, that *α . . . ος* is an ethnic, and *κιθαριστιῶν* the name of a contest. In this space one should perhaps supply *ΚΑΘ*^υ, which is in Asia Minor a usual contraction for *καθ' ὑποθεσίαν*. See *C. I. G.* No. 2655.

(8) Singing to the lyre.

(9) Playing a satyric? strain on the flute. If in line 7 we are justified in reading *σατύραν* we shall have a word not in the lexicons. As however the letters *Τ* and *ΠΑΝ* are clear, no other word occurs as probable.

(10) The winner (if the word *λαμπαδιστής* is rightly supplied) and trainer in a second torch-race.

(11) Of writers of satyric plays.

(12) Of writers of tragedies.

(13) Of actors, in what we cannot say with certainty, the text being imperfect, very probably in the tragedy last mentioned.

(14) Of writers of comedies. With this victor was crowned his actor.

(15) The long race (*dolichos*) for boys; and for men.

(16) The stadion for boys; and for men.

(17) The diaulos for boys; and for men.

(18) The pentathlon, whether for boys or men not stated.

(19) Wrestling for boys; and for men.

(20) Boxing for boys.

(21) The pancratium for boys.

The remainder is lost.

The phrase *ὑποκριτῆς παλαιᾶς τραγωδίας* in line 3 is valuable as correcting a view of Boeckh propounded in the *C. I. G.* i. p. 766, that the phrases *παλαιὰ τραγωδία* and *παλαιὰ κωμῳδία* in lists of this class mean lyrical tragedies and comedies newly composed, though of an ancient kind, such a kind indeed as was usual before acting was introduced, and which afterwards survived in many festivals. But in the present list the special mention of an actor shows that here

at least the *παλαιὰ τραγωδία* is an old tragedy revived on the occasion of the festival; probably a tragedy of Sophocles or Euripides, who retained supremacy in the theatres of Asia Minor until Imperial times. Boeckh argues that in every case the prize was given for new poetry, not for the revival of old poetry: this contention is no doubt just in the case of the *ῥαψωδὸς κιθαρῳδὸς* and the rest, but surely in the acting of standard plays there might be so much difference of merit as to entitle one actor rather than another to a prize.

The phrase *τοὺς ἀπὸ πρώτων* in line 4 is remarkable, and requires consideration. Unfortunately our knowledge of the details of the torch-race is very slight, the statements of ancient writers being apparently contradictory. It seems that there were various kinds of torch-races, and we have no means of discriminating them. Dean Liddell's article, *Lampadephoria*, in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, gives an able summary of what is known on the subject. But it is possible to suggest a meaning for the phrase without examining the nature of the contest. Two facts are prominent in this list of victors; (1) the order of events is curiously irregular; (2) a torch-race is twice mentioned, the word *λαμπαδάρχης* occurring in the 5th and 7th lines. The simplest way of accounting for these facts is by supposing that the order of the text is the order in which the contests actually took place, and that there was a *Lampadephoria* on the first two evenings of the festival. In that case some such word is to be supplied after *πρώτων* as *λαμπαδιστῶν*, and we must render "the victor in the first day's torch-race." If we accept this view we shall have, on the first day, the contests of heralds and trumpeters, with which such festivals usually began, and of actors in old tragedies, with a torch-race in the evening; on the second day contests with flute and lyre, with a torch-race in the evening; and on subsequent days the contests in tragedy and comedy, and in athletic sports.

The ethnic *Χησιεύς* which so frequently recurs signifies an inhabitant of the village of Chesion in Samos,¹ or perhaps on the mainland opposite. That the festival was open to and well

¹ Stephanus of Byzantium mentions *Χήσιον* as a village (*πολίχνιον*) of Ionia, and, according to some readings, Pliny includes Chescopolis among the coast-towns of Ionia. On the other hand

the *Schol.* to Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* (l. 228) states that *Χήσιον* was a promontory of Samos. The present inscription renders it probable that the town was in Samos itself.

attended by foreigners, especially Ionians of Asia, we have abundant proof in the recorded nationalities of the winners, of whom one is Athenian, and one comes from each of the following towns: Tralles, Rhodes, Miletus, Mallus, Ephesus, Magnesia on the Maeander, and Apameia in Phrygia.

An Attic comic poet of the name of Ariston is mentioned as a contemporary of Alexander the Great by Athenaeus.¹ It is very probable the Ariston mentioned in the text may be one of his descendants.

In Byzantine times this stone was used again; on the back of it was cut the following barbarous legend:—

ⲓϥ	ⲭϥ	Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
Cross.		
NH	KA	νη κα̂
Ⲛⲉ	ⲃⲱⲓⲑⲓⲧ	κ[ύρι]ε βωίθι τ-
ϣⲁϣⲗϣϣ		οὐ δούλου σοῦ
ⲑⲉⲱⲁⲱⲧϣ		Θεωδάτου
ΑΝΑΓΝΩC		ἀναγνωσ-
ϣ	ΞΘ	[τ]οῦ

Mr. Bent also found the following sepulchral inscription in letters of Roman times, three-quarters of an inch high:—

M E N E K P A T H Σ
 Γ Ο Τ Α Μ Ω Ν Ο Σ
 Η Ρ Ω Σ Χ Ρ Η Σ Τ Ο Σ
 Χ Α Ι Π Ε

PERCY GARDNER.

¹ xii. p. 539, a.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM CHALCEDON.

THROUGH the kindness of the Rev. C. G. Curtis, of Constantinople, we are enabled to publish the following inscription. The stone on which it is cut is now in his possession, and was found at Chalcedon (the modern Kadikēvi).

ΤΟΙΔΕΕΛΑΧΟΝΑΙΣΙΜΝῆΝ
 ΜΗΝΑΠΟΤΑΜΙΟΝ
 ΚΑΙΕΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΝΑΓΕΜΟΝΑ
 ΕΥΦΑΜΟΝΑΝΤΙΛΟΧΟΥΠΟΛΙΑ
 5 ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΧΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΑΔΡΟΜΗ
 ΙΟΤΑΣΕΠΤΙΚΡΑΤΕΟΣΔΙΑΣ
 ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΘΑΝΑΙΩΝΟΣΠΡΕ
 ΙΩΠΥΡΙΩΝΜΕΞΣΑΝΙΟΥΠΟΛΙ
 10 ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΠΟΤΩΙ
 ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΣΙΩΛΙΟΥΠΟΤΩΙ
 ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΠΥΘΑΓΓΑΡΤΕ
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΘΕΟΜΝΑΣΤΟΥΟΛΙΔΝ
 ΑΜΑΤΡΙΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥΗΡΑ
 ΝΤΑΝΔΡΟΣΜΕΝΕΚΡΑ Δ

Τοῖδε ἔ[λ]αχον αἰσιμνῆν
 μῆνα Ποτάμιον,
 Καὶ ἐστεφάνωσαν ἄγεμόνα [βουλᾶς
 5 Εὐφάμον Ἀντιλόχον Πολια[τήας·
 Τυνδάριχος Καλλία Δρο
 Ζ(ώ)τας Ἐπικράτεος Διασ

10

Δαμοκράτης Ἀθαναίωνος Π[α]ρτε
 Ζωπυρίων Μεσσανίου Πολια[τή]ας
 Ἀρίστων Διονυσίου Ποτ[τ]ω
 Κρατῖνος Ζώϊλου Ποττω
 Διονύσιος Πύθα Παρτε
 Ἀπολλώνιος Θεομνάστου Ὀλιδν
 Δ[α]μάτριος Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἡρα[κλή]ας (?)
 Ἀ[ν]τανδρος Μενεκρά[τε]ος

For the form and substance of the inscription cf. *C. I. G.* 3794, also from Chalcedon: our decree however appears from the forms of the letters to be older than the one in the *Corpus*, which uses the forms ΑΘΣ.

For the functions of the αἰσυμνήται at Chalcedon, see Boeckh, *ad loc.* They seem to have corresponded to the Prytanes at Athens, and the ἀγεμὼν βουλᾶς was their president. It is singular that only one of the seven names of tribes found attached to the names of the αἰσυμνήται in Boeckh's inscription recurs in this one; as at least six new ones are here found, it follows that there must have been more than either ten or twelve tribes at Chalcedon. In this inscription, again, there are ten αἰσυμνήται beside the president; in *C. I. G.* 3797 he and the scribe have to be included to make up the same number.

Line 1.—The ι in αἰσιμνήν confirms the reading in the other Chalcedonian decree; there is no necessity to alter it to υ. The use of the verb in this technical sense, 'to be an αἰσυμνήτης,' is interesting. The participle occurs in the *Corpus* inscription.

Line 2.—There is no trace of a month Potamios in the Bithynian calendar; it would therefore seem to be peculiar to Chalcedon, and associated with a local river worship.

Line 4.—Πολιατήας sc. φυλῆς. The name of the tribe is appended to the names in the same way in the other inscription from Chalcedon.

Line 6.—Ζώτας: this seems the natural restoration. I think I can detect traces of an Ω on the back of the squeeze, but it is by no means clear. The name Ζώτης is known elsewhere.

Line 7.—The name Ἀθαναίων is found in the other Chalcedonian inscription in the *Corpus*.

It seems safer to leave the names of the tribes fragmentary, and not to attempt to restore them. The names Παρτε... and Ποττωι... seem to suggest compounds of παρὰ and ποτὶ (= πρὸς).

It will be observed that there are some inconsistencies in the forms of π and μ; these are preserved from the transcription, and are borne out by the squeeze so far as visible; but they must not be insisted on.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

Ἰυγξ IN GREEK MAGIC.

THE strange word Ἰυγξ is familiar to all classical scholars from the first refrain in the *Φαρμακείτριαι* of Theokritos, from two passages in Pindar, and a line in the *Persai* of Aischylos.

Theokritos II. :

Ἰυγξ ἔλκε τυ τήνον ἐμόν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα.

Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 213 (*strophé i'*) :

πότνια δ' ὀξυτάτων βελέων

ποικίλαν Ἰυγγα τετράκναμον Οὐλυμπόθεν

ἐν ἀλύτῳ ζεύξαισα κύκλῳ.

(*ant. i'*) :

μαινάδ' ἔρην Κυπρογένεια φέρειν

πρῶτον ἀνθρώποισι λιτάς τ' ἐπαιδὰς ἐκδιδάσκεισεν

σοφὸν Αἰσονίδαν· κ.τ.λ.

Pindar, *Nem.* IV. 35 :

Ἰυγγι δ' ἔλκομαι ἥτορ νεομηνία θιγέμεν.

Aischylos, *Pers.* 988 :

Ἰυγγά μοι δῆτ'

ἀγαθῶν ἐτάρων ὑπομιμνήσκεις κ.τ.λ.

Also, Aristophanes, *Lysist.* 1110 :

ὥς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῇ σῇ ληφθέντες Ἰυγγι

συνεχώρησάν σοι καὶ κοινῇ τὰγκλήματα πάντ' ἐπέτρεψαν.

Diogenes Laert. VI. c. 2, 76 :

τοιαύτη τις προσῆν Ἰυγξ Διογένους τοῖς λόγοις.

Lykophron, 310 :

πυρφόρῳ βέλει

Ἰυγγι τόξων.

Schol. :

Ἰυγξ δὲ λέγεται ὁ ἔρως καὶ ὄρνέον τι ᾧ χρῶνται αἱ φαρμακίδες εἰς ἔρωτα.

Xenophon, *Mem.* III. 11, 17 (Sokrates conversing with Theodotê):

εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἄνευ πολλῶν φίλτρων τε καὶ ἐπωδῶν καὶ ἰυγγων ἐστί. Χρήσον τοίνυν μοι, ἔφη (ἡ Θεοδότῃ), τὴν ἰυγγα ἵνα ἐπὶ σοὶ πρῶτον ἔλκω αὐτήν. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἔλκεσθαι πρὸς σέ βούλομαι ἀλλὰ σέ πρὸς ἐμέ πορεύεσθαι.

Aelian, *H.A.* XV. 19:

ἦσαν δὲ ἄρα ἐρωτικῶς ἐχούσης χελώνης ἰυγγες, οὐκ ᾧδαί μὰ Δία, οἷας Θεόκριτος ὁ τῶν νομευτικῶν παιγνίων συνθέτης ληρεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἀπόρρητος πῶα κ.τ.λ.

Hesychius (*sub voce*):

ἰυγξ· φίλτρον ἀπὸ ἰυγγος τοῦ ὀρνέου, τὸ γὰρ ὀρνεον τοῦτο φασιν εἶναι ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὰς μαγανείας. καλεῖται δὲ καὶ κιναιδίον. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτην αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὀρνέου καὶ τὰ κατασκευαζόμενα εἰς ἔρωτας ἰυγγας καλοῦσιν.

Aristotle in his 'History of Animals' gives a description of the bird and uses *τρίζειν* of its cry.

Anthol. Pal. 5, 205 may also be referred to; and the word occurs, naturally, in the *Scriptores Erotici*.

We see from these passages (1) that ἰυγξ was the name of a bird,¹ the wryneck, which stretched on a wheel was used in magic rites, cf. especially Pindar *Pyth.* IV. 213, the scholion on Lykophron, and ἔλκω αὐτήν in the passage of Xenophon: (2) that ἰυγξ was used in the sense of *charm*, cf. the passages of Aelian, Aristophanes, Diogenes and Pindar *Nem.*: (3) that ἰυγξ meant *love* or *desire*, cf. Lykophron, schol., and Aischylos *Pers.*

The two last meanings are generally derived from the first. From the particular charm of the wryneck the word would easily come to mean a charm in general; and as the object of the charm was to excite or attract love, the transition to the third meaning is equally easy.

How are we to explain ἰυγξ in the refrain of Theokritos? It does not here mean charm in general, but *charm* in its etymological sense — *carmen*, incantation; cf. Aelian, ᾧδαί οἷας

¹ "Iyngis torquillae" Linn., quae a Gallis *le torcol*, nunc a Graecis *σουσου-ράδα* vel *κωλοσοῦσα* appellatur, falso a

schol. *σεισοσυγίς* "motacilla" vocatur. —FRITZSCHE.

Θεόκριτος κ.τ.λ., and Virgil's imitation, *mea carmina*. Thus Ἰνυγξ would seem to have passed from a particular meaning to a general and then again to another particular meaning. The passage in Pindar's Fourth Nemean Ode, and an examination of the word itself may lead us to a different conclusion.

Pindar says: though the τεθμός does not allow me to dwell on certain matters, yet an Ἰνυγξ draws me to touch upon them on the new-moon festival. Why does Pindar use this rare word Ἰνυγξ here? Those who are familiar with Pindar's intentional use of words will not be disposed to admit that he used it with no purpose or special appropriateness. When we remember that the Ἰνυγξ in Theokritos is an incantation of the moon, and that the other refrain is φράζεό μεν τὸν ἔρωθ' ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνια Σελάνα, we are led to conclude that Pindar used Ἰνυγξι on account of νεομηνία, and that Ἰνυγξ had the special senses of moon-charm and moon-song. A moon-charm was wrought upon Pindar at the new-moon feast. We shall find this interpretation confirmed by the word itself.

Substantives of the consonant declension ending in -γξ are closely related to forms of the O declension in -γγος; just as forms in -ν(θ)ς are related to forms in -νθος. We have for example μῆρινθα, accus., implying a hypothetical μῆρις, beside μῆρινθος *nomîn.* (cf. πείρις and πείρινθος). Thus we may place Ἰνυγξ, in point of form, beside οὐπιγγος, the name of a moon-song in Thessaly. This word is formed from Οὐπις, an appellation of Artemis, evidently in her capacity of moon-goddess (cf. Kallimachos, Hymn to Artemis, 204, Οὐπι ἀνασσ' εὐῶπι φαεσφόρε), and in exactly the same way I suppose Ἰνυγξ to have been formed from Ἰώ. Io was a name of the moon at Argos, and however indisposed to commit ourselves to interpretations of mythology, we cannot refuse to see in the story of Io a lunar legend. Sorcerers calling on the moon and crying Ἰώ Ἰώ! would be said ἰύζειν (just as those who cry ἰώ (alas), φεῦ, are said ἰύζειν, φεύζειν, etc., or as τίζειν is used of one who says τί τί;), for ν is latent in the ω of Ἰώ, as is proved by gen. Ἰοῦς, acc. Ἰοῦν. And similarly those who called Οὐπι Οὐπι! would be said οὐπίζειν. To these hypothetical verbs ἰύζειν and οὐπίζειν the nouns Ἰνυγξ and οὐπιγγος bear the same relation as φόρμιγξ and σῦριγξ to φορμίζειν and συρίζειν.

On this theory the explanation of the use of the wryneck in

magic rites becomes easy. The bird was called Ἰνυγξ from its call (Ἰνυγμός) which sounded like ἰώ ἰώ; and it was used in lunar enchantments because it was supposed to be calling on Io, the moon.

The close connexion of Ἰνυγξ with ἰώ and ἰύζω in the consciousness of the ancients is proved by the passage in the *Persai* and that in the Fourth Pythian Ode.

In the lamentations of Xerxes Ἰνυγγά μοι δῆτ' (988) responds to ἰὼ ἰώ μοι (973), as the first lines of antistrophe and strophe respectively. So it is not too much to suppose that Aischylos intended to suggest a second sense of Ἰνυγξ—Ἰνυγμός as well as πόθος.

In the fourth Pythian Ode, Aphrodite uses the charm of the wryneck to attract Mèdeia to Jason, that he might be enabled to perform the tasks imposed by Aîêtês. ποικίλαν Ἰνυγγα are the first words of the last line but one of the tenth strophe. When Jason had succeeded in ploughing the field with the fiery oxen, the effect produced on Aîêtês is described in l. 237, the last line but one of the eleventh strophe:

236 βιατὰς ἐξεπόνησ' ἐπιτακτὸν ἀνὴρ

237 μέτρον Ἰνυξεν δ' ἀφωνήτω περ ἔμπας ἄχει
δύνασιν Αἰήτας ἀγασθεῖς.

Aîêtês Ἰνυξεν, cried ἰώ; and it is important to note that Ἰνυξεν occurs in the same line of the strophe and same part of the line as Ἰνυγγα (cf. for this principle, Mezger's commentary on Pindar¹), thus reminding us that this effect is originally due to the Ἰνυγξ and suggesting that Aîêtês is thus indirectly compelled by the charm.

The theory, which I propose, that Ἰνυγξ originally meant a *moon-song* (a song to the moon-goddess Ἰώ) independently of the wryneck, which on account of its cry was used in magic moon-worship, will (1) account for this curious practice of using a wryneck in magic rites, will (2) explain the appropriateness of Ἰνυγμι in Pindar *Nem.* IV. 35, will (3) elucidate the first refrain in the moon-song of Theokritos.

JOHN B. BURY.

¹ This verbal resposion and many others have been left unnoticed by Mezger.

A SUGGESTED RESTORATION OF THE GREAT HALL IN THE PALACE OF TIRYNS.

IN his very minute and accurate description of the Tirynthian Palace, Dr. Dörpfeld has almost wholly confined himself to the discussion of what actually exists or can with certainty be inferred from existing evidence, and has not committed himself to a conjectural restoration of any part of this most interesting building.*

I venture therefore to offer to the Hellenic Society a proposed restoration of the Great Hall—the Homeric Megaron as Dr. Dörpfeld and other able archaeologists hold it to be.

This restoration is based partly on the evidence of the existing remains, partly on what may be called structural necessity, and partly on the analogy of other buildings or ancient sculptured reliefs.¹

Fig. 1 shows the front of the Hall, the *αἶθουσα δόμων* opening from the Great Court. The conjectural parts are the exact heights of the structure, including the pillars, antae and doors, and the form of the roof. The clearest proofs exist of the diameters of the antae and pillars, the width of the doorways with their double doors on revolving pivots. The steps are in perfect preservation, and so is part of the very carefully formed concrete floor with its incised and coloured pattern in red squares separated by blue bands.

It is also evident, not only that the antae and pillars were of wood, but also that the whole of the walls of this outer porch

¹ No complete description of the structure is attempted in this paper, which is only intended to be a brief supplement to Dr. Dörpfeld's valuable work.

were once lined with wood, either from top to bottom, or possibly with a wooden dado on the lower part, the upper portion being decorated with painted stucco.

The presence of a large number of small fragments of thin beaten bronze suggests, what from other reasons would seem probable, namely that the wood linings were used only as a backing on which were nailed bronze plates with repoussé reliefs.

Metal emblemata in all probability were also used to cover the antae and pillars: the designs used would no doubt resemble the rich surface reliefs on the marble capital and fragment of a shaft which once belonged to the main doorway of the so-called 'Treasury of Atreus.'

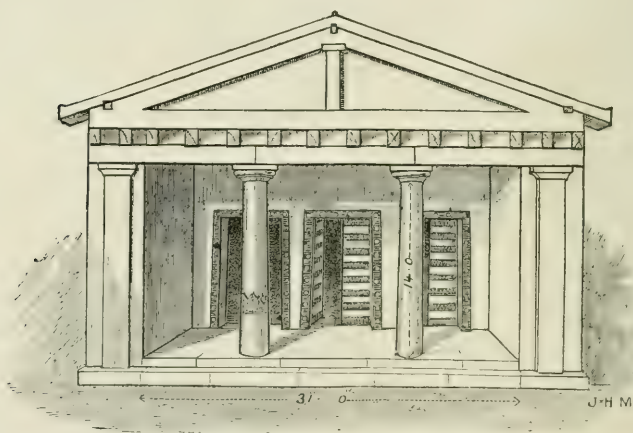


FIG. 1.—FRONT OF HALL.

This rich decoration of chevrons studded with little bosses clearly is taken from a metal original: the nail-heads which served to attach the metal plates to the wooden column have in the marble copy become rows of ornamental bosses. In earlier works on the subject this very magnificent fragment has always been figured wrong way up, making the capital into a base. Its proper position is pointed out by Dr. Dörpfeld. The fact that this column tapers downwards, instead of becoming narrower towards the top, no doubt misled earlier writers as to its position. This peculiarity exists, though in a very slight degree, in

the column between the two lions over the chief gate of Mycenae.¹

It appears at first sight especially anomalous that a wooden shaft should taper downwards, but a probable explanation seems to be this—that these stone examples were copied from Oriental buildings in which palm trunks were used to support the roof, such as one still sees in many modern buildings in parts of Arabia. Now the palm-tree grows very considerably thicker towards the top, and thus the eye of the builders may have grown accustomed to what appears to us a very unnatural form. This notion is perhaps strengthened by the discovery made some years ago among the ruins of the great Palace of Khorsabad of a fragment of a wooden column, which was still covered with plates of repoussé bronze, beaten into the form of the scales on a palm



FIG. 2.—CAPITALS OF COLUMNS.

tree—a survival perhaps from the time when the bare trunk with its natural scales was left visible.

In the restoration of the capitals of the Tirynthian columns I have followed that of the lion-gate of Mycenae, the design of which seems specially suitable for a wooden capital, as the three distinct members of which it consists would naturally arise out of super-imposed slabs or thick boards of wood. It is, I think, worth while to suggest that the capital on the lion-gate shows us a primitive form of the Doric capital, and that the peculiar early Doric capital of the oldest Selinus temple, and that found at Tiryns (both dating probably about 600 B.C.) form a link

¹ My own measurements make the column about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wider at the top than at the bottom, but the work

is too rough for any minute exactness of measurement.

between the ancient Mycenae form and the perfect development of the mouldings such as one sees in the Parthenon. The cavetto which forms the lowest of the three members in the Mycenae capital is absent in the later Doric, but exists in a modified form in the Selinus and Tirynthian examples. See Fig. 2.

Prof. Ramsay in the *Hellenic Journal*, 1882, Pl. XIX. shows a very interesting example from a rock-cut tomb in Phrygia,

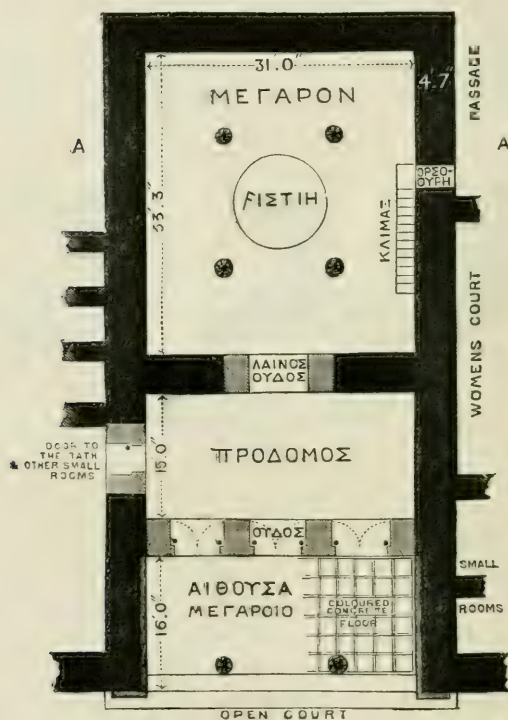
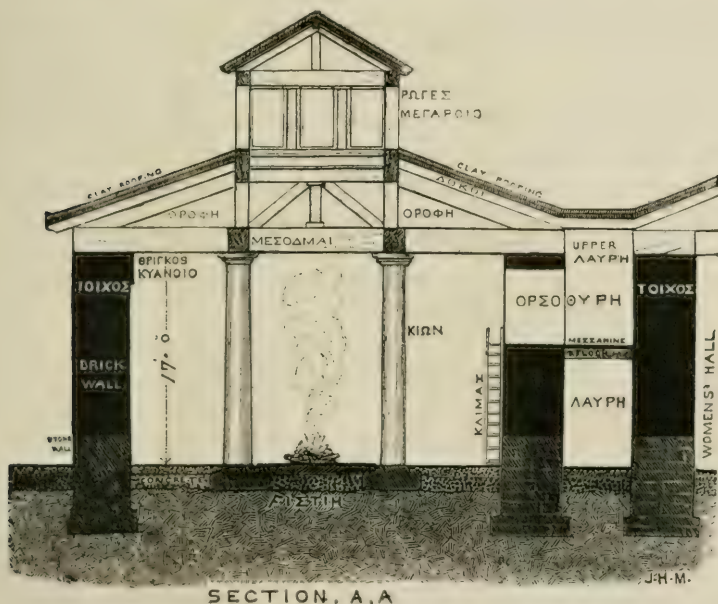


FIG. 3.—GROUND-PLAN OF HALL.

where what is clearly a wooden column decorated at the top with a metal emblema is represented in stone. In this case the shaft has no true capital, though the applied 'palmetto' ornament gives somewhat the effect of one to the eye without any of its structural use in spreading the pressure over a larger area,

so as to diminish the risk of the wood splitting from the top downwards.

The height of the walls and columns in Fig. 4 is purely conjectural. But the limits of possible height in this case are very narrow from constructional reasons, both because the wall of unburnt bricks could not have been carried high without causing a crushing of the lower part, and also from the weakness inherent in a tall wooden shaft with a diameter such as that used at Tiryns.



SECTION. A.A

FIG. 4.—SECTION OF HALL.

The perfect way in which a very thin coating of lime stucco will protect unbaked clay from the weather, even in a rainy climate, is very remarkable.

In the district of Wales near Aberystwith and Lampeter many large cottages exist, some nearly a century old, the walls of which, with the exception of a low stone plinth, are wholly formed of sun-dried clay or rather mud, merely protected by successive coats of lime-white applied with a brush.

The resemblance of this method of building to that used at

Tiryns is very curious. The stone plinth in both cases is about the same height, eighteen inches above the floor, and in both the stones are set in clay-mortar. In the Welsh cottages, however, the walls were built of shapeless lumps of wet mud moulded roughly as the wall was being formed, and thus only about two feet in height could be built at one time. When each layer was dry the next course was laid on. This is of course a very inferior method to that employed at Tiryns where the clay was moulded into bricks which were thoroughly dried before being used. This method of building was practised in Wales within living memory, but is now extinct. In Oriental countries it is still common.

The roof-principle shown in Fig. 1 is adopted from that sculptured in stone in the same Phrygian tomb which is mentioned above (*Hell. Journ.* 1882, Pl. XIX.).

Both for esthetic and practical reasons it seems more probable that this low-pitched form of roof was used than a quite flat covering, from which the rain would not run off quickly—a very important point in the case of a roof covered, as this probably was, with a layer of unburnt clay.

I observed among the *débris* some small fragments of sun-dried clay coated with a very thin layer of pure lime stucco. These I believe to have been part of the roof covering, though Dr. Dörpfeld was inclined to think that the roofing clay was unprotected by stucco.

The visible woodwork of the roof may have been decorated with bronze *repoussé* ornaments.¹

The three double doors leading from the *αἴθουσα* into the *πρόδομος* probably in their construction closely resembled those from Balawat made for Shalmaneser II. (ninth century) now in the British Museum.—A series of planks set side by side were bound together with broad bands of *repoussé* bronze, which lapped round a round wooden post shod with neatly-fitted bronze pivots made to revolve in holes in the threshold and lintel. This form of door appears to have been used as late as the end of the fifth century B.C., as is shown on a beautiful

¹ Some very interesting examples of bronze plates with figures beaten in relief, which were once attached to wooden planks, have been found at

Olympia, dating apparently from the early part of the sixth century, or even earlier.

pyxis in the British Museum, on which is painted a toilet scene: a female slave brings a jewel-box to a lady seated in her room, which is decorated with vases containing flowers. The folding-doors bound with metal bands are shown behind.¹

It is interesting to compare the design of this façade, the aræostyle intercolumniation and three doors behind, with the triple Etruscan temples, such as that on the Capitoline hill dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The resemblance is very remarkable.

In the attempt to work out a restored section of the Hall (see Fig. 4) it appeared that a very probable explanation of the much-disputed ὀρσοθύρη naturally presented itself. On one side of the great Hall, 31 feet wide, is a narrow passage intervening between it and the second or Women's Hall. Now it is obvious that a height of roof which would be suitable and even necessary for a large room would be quite out of place in a narrow passage, and thus the obvious thing to do would be to divide the passage into two stories by a 'mezzanine' floor—a common device in the architecture of all countries.

Thus a door from the upper floor of the passage would open into the wall of the Megaron at a height of six or seven feet from the floor of the latter (see A on the section and plan).

If a wooden stair or ladder (κλίμαξ) led from this upper door downwards into the Megaron, as is indicated on the plan, one can understand why Melanthius was afraid to venture up it,² on account of Odysseus who was standing by the οὐδός; see *Od.* xxii. 136.³

This too would give that direct communication between the Megaron of the men and the women's apartments, which seems from several passages in the *Odyssey* to have existed in the Homeric house.⁴

The phrase στόμα λαύρης which is applied to the ὀρσοθύρη

¹ This scene is figured by the present writer in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. 'Pottery,' p. 614, fig. 31, as an example of painted vases used to hold flowers in a Greek room.

² Agelaus uses the word ἀναβαίνειν of the approach to the ὀρσοθύρη, suggesting a climb up.

³ See Prof. Gardner's interesting article on the Homeric Palace, in the *Hellenic Journal*, iii. p. 276.

⁴ Another communication between the two parts of the palace seems to me to have existed at the N.E. angle of the great αὐλή, or court of the men.

appears specially suitable for this upper door into the *λαύρη* or passage.

That an upper story did exist over part of the Tirynthian house is proved by the clear traces of a staircase in two flights, which are still visible in the women's part of the palace.

I have also ventured to show in the section the possible form of the lantern which Dr. Dörpfeld suggests as having existed over the four pillars of the hall, partly devised to form an exit for the smoke of the fire on the circular hearth beneath—as was the custom in the mediaeval halls of England and the Continent.¹

It will be seen from the section that an active man could swarm up one of the pillars and reach the windows in the lantern and so escape on to the roof; thence he could descend into the *θάλαμοι* by a stair, such as is still constructed in most oriental houses to give access to the roof. Such a staircase existed in Circe's house, see *Od.* x. 554.

This explanation, if correct, may explain the meaning of the escape of Melanthius *ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγάροιο*, *Od.* xxii. 151 *seq.*

In illustration of the beautiful alabaster frieze studded with blue paste (*θριγκὸς κυάνοιο*) which Dr. Dörpfeld discovered at Tiryns, I may mention what I have never yet seen noted, namely, that one of the marble fragments from the doorway of the 'Treasury of Atreus' (now in the British Museum) was once enriched in a similar way with glass or jewels.

The fragment referred to is part of a slab of red marble, which, from its shape, evidently formed a frame to the triangular slab which once filled the opening over the main door. Its ornament consists of three parallel bands of spirals: the centre of each spiral in the central band was once set with a small boss, probably of glass, which in every case is now lost, though the marks of the cement used to fix the false jewel are still visible.

¹ This lantern survived as an ornamental appendage long after fire-places with flues were constructed, and it had ceased to have any special use. The

very graceful lantern over the Hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, and many other halls, are simply survivals of the primitive place of escape for the smoke.

The British Museum also possesses what appears to be the apex of the triangular slab itself which closed the relieving aperture over the main door of the 'Treasury.' This is of greenish-grey marble, and has a spiral ornament framed by a slightly enriched moulding which seems to be the prototype of the later Greek egg and dart enrichment.

J. HENRY MIDDLETON.

THE HOMERIC HOUSE, IN RELATION TO THE REMAINS AT TIRYNS.

EVERY discussion relating to Tiryns may fitly commence with a tribute to the energy and enthusiasm which, there as elsewhere, have characterised the excavations of Dr. Schliemann; a tribute which has at all times been ungrudgingly rendered by his critics, even when they have been least able to accept the theories which have been founded on those results by the distinguished excavator. It will not be the purpose of the present paper to discuss the questions which have been raised concerning the origin and age of the remains at Tiryns; whether, as Dr. Dörpfeld holds, they represent a prehistoric palace, built by Phœnicians about 1100 B.C.; or, as others believe after seeing them, belong to buildings of post-classical date and of rude construction, in which partial use was made of archaic or classical material found on the spot. The question with which alone this paper deals is the following. Given the plan of the house at Tiryns, as Dr. Dörpfeld traces it, can this plan be reconciled with that of the typical Homeric house, as indicated in the Homeric poems? By 'reconciled' is not meant, harmonised in every detail, but brought into an intelligible agreement as regards features essential to the Homeric story. The position maintained in Dr. Schliemann's work is that, with reasonable allowance for variations between one house and another of the same period, such a general reconciliation is possible. This is a very important issue, not only for Homeric archaeology, but for all study of Homer.¹

¹ Among recent writings on the Homeric House, the following may be mentioned: (1) Winckler, *Die Wohnhäuser der Hellenen*, Berlin, 1868;

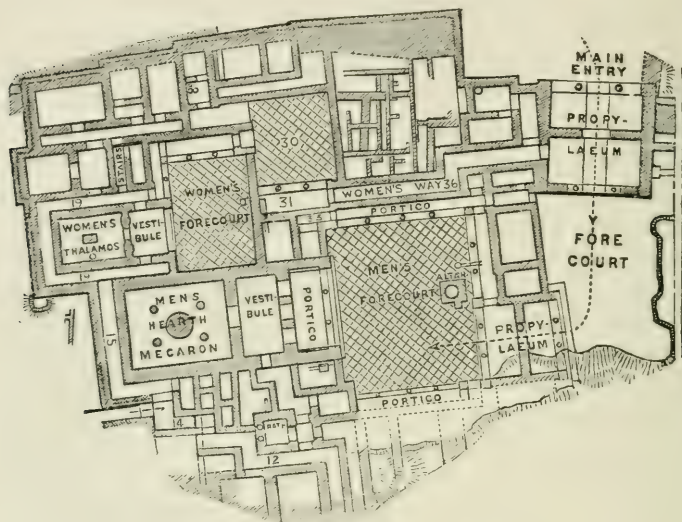
(2) Papers by Mr. Watkiss-Lloyd in the *Builder* of June 4th and 25th, 1870; and in the *Architect* of August 4th and 11th, 1877; (3) A note by

Assuming the accuracy of the ground-plan delineated by Dr. Dörpfeld, we find in the house at Tiryns certain general features common to the Homeric house. The Homeric *πρόθυρον*, or front entrance to the court, is identified with a propylaeum; a form of gateway which archaeologists have been startled to find associated with a prehistoric building in Greece, where its earliest appearance had not hitherto been carried above the fifth century B.C. We find also the courtyard (*αὐλή*), with a colonnade on all four sides,—that on the side opposite to the front entrance being the *αἶθουσα* specially so-called,—the portico of the *πρόδομος*, or fore-hall. Immediately within this is the great hall of the men, the Homeric *μέγαρον*. Thus far, then, there is a general resemblance. But we now come to a difference of the most striking and essential kind. At Tiryns the men's hall has no outlet except the door by which it is entered from the fore-hall. The women's apartments are identified with a second and smaller hall, completely isolated from the other. This smaller hall has its own *αἶθουσα*, and its own court. Buchholz remarks (*Hom. Realien*, ii. 93): 'Everywhere in Homer an *αὐλή* is mentioned, never *αὐλαί*, so that the view of those who assert that there were two, may be regarded as finally disposed of.' Dr. Dörpfeld replies (*Tiryns*, 237): 'This sentence is directly refuted by the palace at Tiryns. There may indeed have been palaces in Homer's time which had only one *αὐλή*; but we now know for certain that some there were which contained two.' From the men's hall to the women's apartments the only modes of access were by very circuitous and intricate routes.¹ (See Plan I.)

Mr. A. Lang on *Od.* 22. 2, in Butcher and Lang's translation; (4) J. Protodikos, *De Aedibus Homericis*, Leipsic, 1877. He has consulted, besides Winckler's work, writings by A. Hirt, H. Rumpf, Eggers, J. B. Friedreich, J. H. Krause, Emil Wörner, L. Gerlach; (5) An article by Prof. P. Gardner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iii. 264; (6) E. Buchholz, *Homeric Realien*, Leipsic, 1871-3. Helbig, (*Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*) I. viii. pp. 74-88, deals with the materials and decorations of the house, rather than with its plan.

¹ They are thus described by Dr. Dörpfeld (*Tiryns*, p. 236):—'In the north-west part of the palace lies a small court, with colonnades and adjoining rooms, which has no direct connection with the main court; it is the court of the women's dwelling. You must pass many doors and corridors to reach this inner part of the palace. There appear to have been three ways of reaching it. First, from the back-hall of the great Propylaeum, through the long passage XXXVI., to the colonnade XXXI.; and from this, through the outer court XXX., to the east colonnade of the

In the Homeric house, on the contrary, as the Homeric poems indicate it, the women's apartments are immediately behind the men's hall, and directly communicate with it by



PLAN I.—THE HOUSE AT TIRINS.

a door, as shown in plan II.¹ The contention in Dr. Schliemann's book is that the Homeric data do not require such an arrangement, but are compatible with the arrangement

women's court. Secondly, you could go from the great court or from the megaron, past the bath-room, into corridor XII., and then through passages XIV., XV., and XIX., to reach the vestibule of the women's apartments. A third way probably went from the east colonnade of the great court, through room XXXIII., into the colonnade XXXI., and then along the first way into the court of the women's apartments. All these three approaches are stopped in several places by doors, and the women's apartment was therefore quite separated from the great hall of the

men's court.'

The above three routes can easily be traced on our Plan I. (copied from part of a reduction of Dörpfeld's plan in the *Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1886), by means of the Arabic numerals which I have placed to represent Dörpfeld's Roman numerals: (1) for the first route,—36, 31, 30: (2) for the second, 12, 14, 15, 19: (3) for the third, 33, 31, 30.

¹ This general feature is common to all plans of the Homeric house hitherto given. I have taken the plan of J. Protodikos as a basis.

found at Tiryns. I propose, therefore, to do what (so far as I know) has not been done before,—viz., to present in a connected form the evidence of the *Odyssey* on this question. As the house of Odysseus is that which will almost exclu-



PLAN II.—THE HOMERIC HOUSE OF THE ODYSSEY.

sively engage our attention, it is right to observe that, on this question, little or no additional light can be gained from the other Homeric houses, though they afford confirmatory evidence on some points. It will be practically convenient to begin with a series of passages which are independent of any

obscure or doubtful points in the *μνησθηροφονία*, and then to consider that episode separately.

I. Passages showing that the women's apartments were behind the megaron, or great hall of the men, and directly communicated with it by a door.

1. In book xvii. Odysseus comes to his house in the guise of an aged beggar. Telemachus, to whom alone the secret is known, is in the great hall with the suitors. Odysseus, with the humility proper to his supposed quality, sits down 'on the threshold of ash, within the doors' (17. 339):

ἴξε δ' ἐπὶ μελίνου οὐδοῦ ἔντοσθε θυραῶν,

i.e. at the lower end of the hall, on the threshold of the doorway leading into it from the prodomos. The suitors who, with their retinue, numbered about a hundred and twenty, were feasting at a series of small tables, which may be imagined as arranged in two rows from end to end of the hall, leaving in the middle a free space in which the twelve axes were afterwards set up. Telemachus sends food to Odysseus, with a message that he should advance into the hall, and beg alms from table to table among the suitors. Odysseus does so, and, while he is thus engaged, one of the suitors, Antinous, strikes him. Odysseus then returns to his place on the ashen threshold. Meanwhile Penelope is sitting among her handmaids in the women's apartments (17. 505). She hears—doubtless through one of the women-servants—of the blow dealt by Antinous to the humble stranger; and she sends to the hall for Eumaeus. When he comes, she desires him to go and bring the mendicant into her presence. He delivers her message to Odysseus, who is still seated on the ashen threshold. Odysseus replies that he would gladly go to Penelope; 'but,' he adds, 'I somewhat fear the throng of the forward wooers. . . . For even now, as I was going through the hall, when yon man struck me, and pained me sore,—though I had done no wrong,—neither Telemachus nor anyone else came to my aid.'¹ That is, he declines to go to

¹ *Od.* 17. 561.

Εὐμαι', αἰψά κ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα πάντ'
ἐνέποιμι
κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρονι Πηνελοπείρ'.

οἶδα γὰρ εὖ περὶ κείνου, ὁμῆν δ' ἀνεδέγ-
μεθ' ὀϊζύν.

ἀλλὰ μνηστήρων χαλεπῶν ὑποδείδι'
ὅμιλον,

Penelope, because, in order to reach her apartments, he would have to *pass up the hall*, among the suitors, one of whom had already insulted him.¹

2. The supposed mendicant is then accommodated for the night with a rough 'shake-down' in the *prodomos*—the fore-hall or vestibule of the *megaron*. As he lies awake there, he observes some of the handmaids pass forth from the men's hall (20. 6):—

κεῖτ' ἐγρηγορόων· τὰ δ' ἐκ μεγάροιο γυναῖκες
ἦσαν.

But, after escorting Penelope to the interview with the stranger in the hall, they had returned to the women's apartments (19. 60). Thus again it appears that the direct way from the women's apartments to the court lay through the men's hall.

3. The next day, while the suitors are revelling in the hall, and taunting Telemachus, Penelope is sitting, as before, in the women's apartments. She is not in her own room on the upper storey, to which she presently ascends (21. 5), but on the ground-floor, level with the hall. She places her chair 'over against' the hall (*κατ' ἀντηστιν*, 20. 387), *i.e.* close to the wall dividing the hall from the women's apartments; and thus 'she heard the words of each one of the men in the hall' (20. 389). Similarly in 17. 541, being in the women's apartments, she heard Telemachus sneeze in the hall. Such incidents would be impossible in a house of the type supposed at Tiryns.

4. In preparation for the slaying of the suitors, Odysseus and his son decide to remove the arms from the hall, and to carry them to a room in the inner part of the house. That such was the position of the armoury is made certain by the phrases used with regard to it,—*εἴσω* (19. 4), *ἐσφόρεον* (19. 32), *ἔνδον* (22. 140). But, before doing this, Telemachus, in the hall, 'called forth' the

τῶν ὕβρις τε βίη τε σιδήρεον οὐρανὸν
ἵκει.

καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ὅτε μ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ κατὰ
δῶμα κίοντα

οὔτι κακὸν ῥέξαντα βαλὼν ὀδύνησιν
ἔδωκεν,

οὔτε τι Τηλέμαχος τόγ' ἐπήρκεσεν οὔτε
τις ἄλλος.

¹ If it is argued that, as we shall presently see, there was another way of reaching the women's apartments,

—viz., by an outside passage,—it is enough to reply that the supposed stranger need not have been expected to know this; and that Eumaeus might well refrain from suggesting it,—either as divining the stranger's reluctance (Odysseus was waiting till he could see Penelope *alone*), or as thinking such a back-way an unsuitable mode of bringing the new-comer to the mistress of the house.

nurse Eurycleia (19. 15), and said to her : ' Shut up the women in their chambers, till I shall have laid by in the armoury the goodly weapons of my father.' Thereupon ' she closed the doors of the chambers ' (19. 30), and the removal of the arms was effected. Whence was Eurycleia ' called forth ' into the hall ? Evidently from the women's apartments immediately behind it, as in the similar case at 21. 378. The doors which she closed were those leading from the women's apartments into the hall. The arms were then taken from the hall to the armoury by a side-passage (to be noticed presently), which ran along the wall on the outside.

II. The episode of the vengeance in book xxii. entirely confirms the conclusion drawn from the passages noticed above. The scheme is that the suitors are to be shut up in the hall, and then shot down by Odysseus, his son, and the two faithful servants (Eumæus and Philoetius), who command the access to the armoury. The door at the upper end of the hall, leading into the women's apartments, is fastened, from within them, by Eurycleia, before the conflict begins (21. 387), and unfastened by her when it is over (22. 399). The door at the lower end of the hall is closed,—for javelins strike it (22. 257),—but it is not fastened ; that was unnecessary, since it was commanded by Odysseus, who stood on the threshold in front of it. We observe that, when the slaughter is over, Phemius and Medon pass freely out by this door from the hall into the court (22. 378), although nothing has been said about unfastening it ; whereas, in the case of the other door, at the upper end of the hall, the act of unfastening receives express mention (22. 399). The front door of the court (*θύραι αὐλῆς*) has been fastened from within by Philoetius, who, after doing so, passed back into the hall (21. 389).

Thus the plan of action—perfectly clear and simple in outline—not only allows, but requires, that the women's apartments should be behind the hall, and should communicate with it by a door. This is the main point with which we are concerned, and this is certain. Some minor details are more doubtful. It is interesting to consider these, and, if we can, to form a distinct conception of the episode as a whole.

1. The first question which might be raised is, ' From which end of the hall did Odysseus shoot the suitors ? ' I have already

intimated my belief that it was from the lower end. But the evidence for the other view must be attentively examined.

The threshold on which Odysseus first sat is called, as we have seen, the threshold of ash (*μέλινος*), and was at the lower end of the hall (17. 339). Next day Telemachus makes him sit down 'by the stone threshold within the hall' (*ἐντὸς ἐϋσταθέος μεγάρου, παρὰ λαΐνον οὐδόν*, 20. 256),—a proceeding which the proud suitors resented, though Telemachus had provided his humble guest only with 'a mean settle and a little table.' The stone threshold—if there was only one stone threshold—was certainly at the upper end of the hall. In 23. 88 Penelope crosses 'the stone threshold' in passing from the women's apartments to the hall. Two other circumstances confirm this inference. (i) When the suitors try the bow of Odysseus, they come to the threshold for that purpose, and the first to come is Leiodes, who always sat *μυχολίτατος*,—in the innermost part of the hall (21. 146). He was the *θυοσκοός* of the suitors, and had that place, not merely because it was one of honour—*παρὰ κρατῆρα*, by the mixing-bowl (21. 145)—but also, no doubt, in order that he might be near the *ἐσχάρα*. Thus, the stone threshold being at the upper end, Leiodes would be the nearest to it of the suitors, and would naturally be the first to try the bow. (ii) In 21. 359 Eumæus takes up the bow to carry it to Odysseus, as had been arranged between them. The suitors raise an outcry, and Eumæus sets it down again, but is commanded by Telemachus to advance with it. 'And the swine-herd, carrying the bow through the hall, came and stood by Odysseus, and put it into his hands; and he called forth Eurycleia and spake to her,'—bidding her close the women's apartments (21. 379). Thus, when standing by Odysseus, Eumæus is near the door of the women's apartments; for all his movements have been closely described up to the moment at which he reaches the side of Odysseus. In the course of book xxi. Odysseus rises from his seat near the stone threshold, and goes out of the hall with Eumæus and Philoetius (21. 190); but the poet is careful to say that he returned to the same seat (243). From that seat he sends the arrow through the holes in the axes (21. 420). Immediately afterwards the slaughter of the suitors begins. Its beginning is marked by the words, 'he sprang on to the great threshold' (22. 2). If the 'great' threshold is the same as the 'stone'

threshold, then Odysseus shot the suitors from the upper end of the hall.

Mr. A. Lang is (or was) disposed to adopt this view, observing in his note on 22. 2 that it is not Homeric to leave unmentioned so important a movement as one from the upper to the lower end of the hall. On the other hand, Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, in the *Architect* of Aug. 11. 1877, assumes that Odysseus passed from the upper to the lower end of the hall, though the poet has not told us so. I concur with Mr. Lang's criticism, but with Mr. Lloyd's conclusion. It seems to me that the difficulty as to the poet's silence is greatly lessened, if it is not altogether removed, by the words of Odysseus just after he has sent the arrow through the axes, and just before he springs on the threshold. The supposed mendicant turns to Telemachus, and says:—*'Telemachus, thy guest that sits in the halls does thee no shame. In nowise did I miss my mark, nor was I wearied with long bending of the bow. Still is my might steadfast,—not as the wooers say scornfully to slight me. But now it is time that supper too be got ready for the Achæans, while it is yet light, and thereafter other sport be made with the dance and the lyre, for these are the crown of the feast.'*¹

It is obvious that these words would be perfectly suitable to the moment, if, while he pronounced them, the stranger should rise from his seat and proceed down the hall, as if about to retire from it. He would thus say, in effect,—*'Sir, I have now justified your courtesy to a humble guest; and, having done so, I leave these lords to their festivities.'* So, while I agree that it would be un-Homeric to leave the movement of Odysseus unnoticed, I think that Homer, without mentioning, has indicated it, and that, too, in a highly dramatic manner. There is still a possible objection to be met. If the stone threshold was not that from which Odysseus was to shoot the suitors, what was the 'crafty design' with which Telemachus had seated him near it? (*κέρδεα νομῶν*, 20. 257). Not that he might more easily obtain the bow: for the trial with the bow occurs to Penelope's mind only at the beginning of book xxi.; and the scheme originally concerted between father and son was that, in removing the

¹ 21. 424, f. In giving Butcher and Lang's version, I substitute 'other sport be made' for 'we make other

sport.' In the original it is simply *καὶ ἄλλως ἐψίδασθαι*. From my point of view the difference is significant.

other arms from the hall, Telemachus should leave weapons for their own use (16. 295). The 'crafty design' must, then, have been simply that Odysseus might be better able to see that the door of the women's apartments was closed, and might be near his son when the moment should arrive for giving the signal (21. 431).

If, on the other hand, the 'great' threshold from which Odysseus shot the suitors was at the *upper* end of the hall, several passages become unintelligible.

(1) In 22. 75, during the fight, Eurymachus (one of the suitors) says, 'Let us all have at him with one accord, if haply we may drive him from the threshold and the doorway, and then go through the city.'¹

(2) In 22. 250 Odysseus and his three comrades are described as being ἐπὶ πρώτῃσι θύρῃσι,—'at the entrance of the doors.' This phrase would be wholly inappropriate to the door at the upper end of the hall.

(3) In 22. 270 the suitors fall back before Odysseus *μεγάρῳ* *μυχόνδε*,—to the innermost part of the hall. The word *μυχός* is not one which could be applied indifferently to either end of the hall. It means the end farthest from the entrance,—the 'ben.' Compare 7. 87 and 96 (with reference to the house of Alcinous) ἐς *μυχὸν* ἐξ *οὔδοῦ*, and *μυχοίτατος* above (21. 146).

Unless, then, we conclude that Odysseus passed from the upper to the lower end between trying the bow and beginning the onslaught, we have to suppose a *λαῖνος οὔδος* at both ends. The *μέλινος οὔδος* would then be an outer threshold at the lower end. But this is most improbable.

(4) In 22. 136 the words ἄγχι γὰρ αἰνῶς | αὐλῆς καλὰ θύρετρα furnish another argument on the same side, but this will be best taken presently, in connection with the second question of detail raised by book xxii. It is the following.

2. How were arms introduced into the hall after the fight had begun?

At the end of book xxi. the situation is as follows. Odysseus has his bow and arrows, but is otherwise unarmed. Telemachus

¹ 22. 75.

ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἔχωμεν
ἄθροοι, εἴ κέ μιν οὔδοῦ ἀπώσομεν ἥδ' ἐ θυράων,
ἔλθωμεν δ' ἀνὰ ἄστν.

has a sword and a spear. The last two lines of book xxi. are traditionally read thus:—

ἀμφὶ δὲ χεῖρα φίλῃν βάλεν ἔγχει, ἄγχι δ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ
παρ θρόνον ἐστήκει κεκορυθμένος αἴθοπι χαλκῷ :

Telemachus 'took the spear in his grasp, and stood by his high seat at his father's side, armed with the gleaming bronze.' There are two objections to this. (i.) As appears from 22. 103 and 113, Telemachus had no defensive armour, such as *κεκορυθμένος* denotes, until he brought it from the armoury: then 'he girded the gear of bronze about his own body first' (22. 113). (ii.) He was not yet 'at his father's side.' It is only at 22. 99,—after killing one of his father's assailants with a spear-thrust *in the back* (*κατόπισθε βαλὼν* 22. 92),—that he rushes forward and joins his father on the threshold. In 21. 434 we should read, as Protodikos proposed, *κεκορυθμένον*, and translate:—'he took the spear in his grasp; near him it stood by his chair, tipped with gleaming bronze.' Cp. 22. 125 *δοῦρε δύω κεκορυθμένα χαλκῷ*. Telemachus was sitting at one of the small tables at the upper end of the hall. His chair was probably set,—like that of Demodocus in the house of Alcinous,—near a pillar, against which his spear leaned. Having come to his father's side on the threshold, he proposes to bring arms for both of them, and for the two servants. Odysseus bids him run and bring them at once (*οἶσε θέων*, 22. 106). He at once goes to the armoury in the inner part of the house (*βῆ δ' ἱμεναι θάλαμόνδ'*, 109), and returns 'very quickly' (112) with four helmets, four shields, and eight spears. Observe in passing how rapid and easy is the way of access to the armoury which all this implies. But what was that way? One way alone was open to him, if, as we have shown, he was at the lower end of the hall. It was the same way by which, before the conflict, the arms had been removed from the hall, after the door at its upper end was closed,—viz., a passage running along the wall of the hall on the outside, and so leading back to the inner part of the house.

The suitors are now hard-pressed, and a similar manoeuvre is undertaken in their interest. At 22. 126 we read¹:—'Now

¹ Ὅρσοθῦρῃ δέ τις ἔσκεν εὐδμήτῃ ἐνὶ ἀκρότατον δὲ παρ' οὐδὸν εὖστα-
ταίχῃ, θέος μεγάροιο

there was a certain raised *postern* (ὀρσοθύρα) in the well-built wall; and by the uttermost threshold of the stablished hall there was a way into a passage (ὁδὸς εἰς λαύρην), closed by well-fitted folding-doors (σανίδες). And Odysseus bade the goodly swine-herd stand near thereto and watch the way, for there was but one approach.'

All interpreters, so far as I know, have assumed that the postern (ὀρσοθύρα) was identical with the 'way into a passage' (ὁδὸς εἰς λαύρην), closed by folding-doors. Consequently they have been constrained by the words ἀκρότατον...παρ' οὐδόν to place the ὀρσοθύρα near the threshold held by Odysseus. But an insuperable difficulty then arises. On this view, Eumæus is standing near the ὀρσοθύρα, guarding it. And yet Agelaus, one of the suitors, proposes to Melanthius (the goat-herd, in league with them) that he should go up to the ὀρσοθύρα, —guarded by Eumæus, and close to the deadly threshold,—and so sally forth to raise the town! Obviously the ὀρσοθύρα was nearer to the upper than to the lower end of the hall, and was under the command of the suitors. Another proof of this occurs at 22. 333, where Phemius,—when the surviving suitors are already cowering at the upper end,—proposes to slip out by the ὀρσοθύρα into the court,—Eumæus having now left his post of watch near the threshold, in order to join in a charge on the suitors (22. 307). The ὁδὸς εἰς λαύρην was, I think, distinct from the ὀρσοθύρα. It was a second way of reaching the λαύρα from the hall. It was opposite the end of the threshold on which Odysseus stood, and could be closed by folding-doors (σανίδες). These folding-doors were now open, and Eumæus was posted near them, ready to intercept any one attempting to pass from the hall, by the λαύρα, into the court. There was 'only one way of approach,' viz., by the λαύρα itself, which the

ἦν ὁδὸς εἰς λαύρην, σανίδες δ' ἔχον
 εὖ ἀραρυῖαι.
 τὴν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς φράζεσθαι ἀνώγει διὸν
 ὑφορβὸν
 ἑσταότ' ἄγχ' αὐτῆς· μία δ' οἷη γίγνεται
 ἐφορμή.
 τοῖς δ' Ἀγέλεως μετέειπεν, ἔπος πάν-
 τεσσιν πιφαύσκων.
 ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν δὴ τις ἂν ὀρσοθύρην
 ἀναβαίη

καὶ εἴποι λαοῖσι, βοῇ δ' ὥκιστα γένοιτο;
 τῷ κε τάχ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ νῦν ὕστατα τοξάσ-
 σαιτο.
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Μελάνθιος, αἰπόλος
 αἰγῶν.
 Οὕτως ἔστ', Ἀγέλαε διοτρεφές· ἄγχι
 γὰρ αἰνῶς
 αὐλῆς καλὰ θύρετρα καὶ ἀργαλέον στόμα
 λαύρης.

enemy could enter by the *ὀρσοθύρα* at the upper end. There was an evident utility in such a second entrance to the *λαύρα* from the lower end of the hall. By its proximity to the mouth of the *λαύρα*, opening on the court, it enabled occupants of the hall to command that entrance. The special convenience of the *ὀρσοθύρα*, on the other hand, would be rather for communication with the back part of the house, and more particularly for service. When it is proposed to Melanthius that he should 'go up to the *ὀρσοθύρα*,' he replies, 'It cannot be; for *the fair doors of the court are terribly near, and strait is the mouth of the passage*' (22. 136 f.). That is, 'Eumæus down yonder could hold the narrow passage against me, and his allies are close by, at the door leading from the hall to the court.'

But Melanthius has another resource. 'Come,' he says, 'let me bring you armour from the thalamos,—for methinks 'tis *within*, and nowhere else, that Odysseus and his son laid by the arms.' So saying, 'he went up by the *ῥῶγες* of the hall,'¹ and quickly returned with a supply of arms,—twelve shields, twelve helmets, and twelve spears.

What were the *ῥῶγες μεγάροιο*, mentioned only here? They have been explained as a clerestory, by which Melanthius gained the roof of the hall. Dr. Dörpfeld supposes that the hall at Tiryns had a clerestory over its four central pillars; though the late Mr. James Fergusson, who assumed a basilican mode of lighting for the Parthenon, thought it improbable in the case of Tiryns. Others, again, have taken the *ῥῶγες* to be windows in the side-walls; or stairs leading to the roof; or shelves, forming part of sleeping-galleries, along the sides of the walls. The feature common to almost all explanations has been to understand *ἀνέβαινε* as meaning that Melanthius *climbed up* something. But he quickly returns with a great load of armour. And neither his exit nor his return is noticed by Odysseus. Both these facts seem incompatible with the idea of climbing, unless the *ῥῶγες* are supposed to be regular stairs outside of the hall. On the other hand *ἀνέβαινε* ought certainly to mean 'went up,' not merely, 'went back.' The Homeric use of this verb always implies literal ascent,—as in going on board ship; though the

¹ 22. 142

ὡς εἰπὼν ἀνέβαινε Μελάνθιος, αἰπόλος
αἰγῶν,

ἐς θαλάμους Ὀδυσῆος ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγά-
ροιο.

Homeric use of *ἀνά* with the acc. is larger (e.g., *Od.* 12. 333 *ἀνὰ νῆσον ἀπέστιχον*, i.e. 'up' from the coast). And this condition is satisfied, if we suppose that Melanthius, in order to reach the *ῥῶγες*, 'went up' to the raised postern, the *ὀρσοθύρα*.

It is to the Modern Greek language, and to scholars writing in it, that we are indebted for preserving the true interpretation of *ῥῶγες*, as I, at least, cannot hesitate to think it. The Homeric *ῥῶξ*, *ῥωγός* is the Modern Greek *ῥοῦγα*. The two changes which have taken place are both normal. (i.) The ancient *ω* has become *ου*: cp. *σκώληξ*, Neo-H. *σκουλίκι*; *ζωμός*, *ζουμί*; *κῶδων*, *κουδοῦνι*; *κωπίον*, *κουπίον*. (ii.) The stem of the ancient noun of the third declension has been used to form a new noun of the first; cp. *πτέρυξ*, Neo-H. *πτεροῦγα*; *νύξ*, *νύχτα*; *γυνή*, *γυναῖκα* (Neo-H. nom. sing.): *ἀνὴρ*, *ἄνδρας* (do.). In his *Dictionary of Modern Greek* (1835), Skarlatos, of Constantinople, giving *ῥοῦγα* as 'a narrow way or passage,' compares the Homeric *ῥῶγες*. In a Greek version of the Homeric Lexicon of Crusius (Athens, 1874) J. Pantazides says on *ῥῶγες*: 'The most probable interpretation is that of Eustathius, "passage," "narrow way,"' and refers to the modern *ῥοῦγα*. And the same interpretation is adopted by J. Protodikos (1877).¹ I am indebted to Professor M. Constantinides for a valuable note on this subject. Speaking as a native of North-western Asia Minor, he observes that *ῥοῦγα* is thoroughly familiar, in the sense of 'lane,' to the Greeks of Asia Minor, though it is rare among Greeks of Europe, who employ instead a Turkish word, *σωκάκι*. One illustration of the modern use which he has given me is so apposite that it must be quoted. It occurs in a popular song from the region of Cyzicus. A young princess is gathering flowers and weaving them into chaplets, like Persephone of old, when she and her maidens are surprised by a monster, who, singling out the princess, chases her:—

*στοὺς δρόμους τὴν κυνὴγαγε,
μὲς τὴν αὐλὴ τὴν διώχνει,*

¹ Another derivation has been suggested for *ῥοῦγα*,—viz., the Low Latin *ruga* ('furrow,' then 'path') whence O. It. *ruga* and Fr. *rue* (see Brachet s.v.). But the Greek use of *ῥοῦγα* goes

too far back to make this explanation probable. And the way in which the *ῥῶγες* are mentioned (*Od.* 22. 143) proves that the word was in familiar use.

καὶ μὲς ταῖς ρούγαις ταῖς στεναῖς
τοῦ παλατιοῦ τὴν φθάνει·

‘he hunts her to the streets, he pursues her into the court, and *in the narrow passages of the palace* he overtakes her.’

The *ῥῶγες μεγάροιο* would, then, be narrow passages leading from the outside of the hall to the inner part of the house. We shall find that this perfectly agrees with the whole tenor of the passage from 22. 126 to 179. Such *ῥῶγες* would be especially used for service, and it is natural that a servant of the house should know them. Agelaus had wished Melanthius to go up to the *ὀρσοθύρα*,—which Melanthius could safely do,—and then to pass into the court,—which he could *not* do without being intercepted by Eumæus. Melanthius, therefore, ‘went up’ to the *ὀρσοθύρα*, but, when inside it, turned in the opposite direction from that leading to the court,—along the passages (*ῥῶγες*) leading to the back of the house. Odysseus and his men at the other end of the hall, busy with the conflict, do not notice the exit of Melanthius. We need not imagine the *ὀρσοθύρα* as raised *high* above the floor; and Melanthius, among the throng of suitors, could easily slip through it unnoticed. When he has returned to the hall, and the suitors are seen to have obtained armour, Odysseus suspects that it has been brought *either* by Melanthius *or* by the women (22. 151). At this moment, Odysseus, Telemachus, and Eumæus are standing close together at the lower end of the hall,—the two former on the threshold, and Eumæus near the end of it, at the open folding-doors leading from the hall into the *λαύρα* (cp. 22. 163). Eumæus, warned by Odysseus, now keeps his eyes on the *ὀρσοθύρα* at the upper end. When Melanthius slips out by it for the *second* time, Eumæus espies him (22. 162). Then Eumæus and Philoetius, passing out by the folding-doors into the *αύρα*, follow Melanthius to the armoury at the back of the house, and catch him in the act of plundering it (22. 176). It may be asked,—‘Why did not Odysseus anticipate this manoeuvre of Melanthius, seeing that the suitors had the use of the *ὀρσοθύρα*?’ The answer is given by the words of Telemachus (22. 155 f.), who takes the blame to himself, because he had left the door of the armoury ajar. Odysseus and Telemachus relied, then, on means of fastening the door of the armoury from

the outside. Probably they had a κλείς for it, as Penelope had for the θησαυρός (21. 6). Remark, too, the words of Telemachus: 'I left the door open, and there has been one of them but too quick to spy it' (22. 156). That is, he suspects that one of the women, coming round by the ῥώγες to the ὀρσοθύρα, had reported his oversight to the enemy.¹

3. The sequel of the contest.—When the slaying of the suitors has been accomplished, Telemachus is ordered by his father to 'call forth' Eurycleia. He does so by shaking or striking a door, while he calls to her through it (22. 394),—

κινήσας δὲ θύρην προσέφη τροφὸν Εὐρύκλειαν.

Then she opened the door,—the same which she had closed at 21. 387,—the door between the women's apartments and the hall. She enters the hall; Odysseus questions her concerning the conduct of the handmaids; and she receives his command to bring them forth from the women's apartments. Then 'she went through the hall to tell the women' (22. 433). Odysseus next instructs Telemachus that they are to be 'led out of the hall' into the court (441).

Thus the story of the *Odyssey* from book xvii. onwards presents itself as a clear and intelligible whole. In the view of it which I have endeavoured to present, there may be details on which opinions will be divided; but such details do not affect the main conclusion which it is my purpose to establish. The whole tenor of the narrative pre-supposes two essential conditions for the Homeric house:—

(1) The women's part of the house was immediately behind the men's hall, directly communicating with it by a door.

(2) There was a second way of going from the men's hall to the back part of the house, by a passage outside of the hall;

¹ Protodikos thinks, as I do, that Melanthius went out by the ὀρσοθύρα: but, assuming the ὀρσοθύρα to be the *only* way from the hall into the λαύρα, he has to suppose that the door which Eumæus was set to watch was that leading from the mouth of the λαύρα into the court. This places Eumæus outside of the hall. But he was

inside it, close to Odysseus, to whom he speaks when he sees Melanthius slip out (22. 163). Further, he has to suppose that the ἀκρότατος οὐδός of 22. 127 is the edge of the threshold of the ὀρσοθύρα on the side towards the λαύρα, and that it is called the 'threshold of the hall' merely because the ὀρσοθύρα led out of the hall.

and this second way, though, of course, less direct than the other, was still easy and rapid,—as book xxii. abundantly proves.

With these two general conditions, we contrast two general conditions of the house at Tiryns:—

(1) The primary isolation of the women's apartments from the men's hall.

(2) The extremely circuitous and tortuous character of the only routes by which it was possible to pass from one to the other. For these, the reader may be referred to Dr. Dörpfeld's own description, quoted above (p. 171, note).

At p. 227 of *Tiryns* Dr. Dörpfeld argues that the arrangement at Tiryns can be reconciled with the Homeric data. He notices five passages only. The first four of these are only the oft-repeated verse in which Penelope, entering the hall from the women's apartments, is said to stand by the door-post of the hall (1. 333; 16. 415; 18. 209; 21. 64):—

στῆ ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο.

On this Dr. Dörpfeld merely says that the door at the lower end of the hall is intended. The fifth passage (21. 236) is that in which, before the slaying, Eurycleia is ordered to shut the doors of the women's apartments. On this Dr. Dörpfeld remarks that there is nothing to show that these doors opened on the hall; and that the object of closing them was 'not to keep the suitors from escaping, but to keep the women undisturbed within.' Those who have followed the evidence given in the foregoing pages will be able to judge how far such statements go towards meeting it.¹

¹ In a foot-note on the same page (227) another passage is adduced from *Od.* 6. 50 ff., where it is said that Nausicaa, after finding her mother at the hearth, met with (ξύμβαλετο) her father as he was going forth to the council. This argument assumes that the hearth at which Nausicaa found her mother was in the women's apartments, and that, as Nausicaa, coming thence, 'met' her father leaving the house, she entered the hall by the door from the court. The answer is furnished by *Od.* 7. 139 ff. We there

find Aretè and Alcinous sitting together in the men's hall near the ἐσχάρα at its upper end,—where Penelope also sits in 20. 55, and where Helen joins Menelaus (4. 121). Nausicaa, on awaking, wishes to tell her dream to her parents. She goes κατὰ δώματα, 'through the house,' from her own bed-chamber in the women's apartments, to the men's hall,—the door between them being open. In the hall she finds her mother. Her father she found, we may suppose, in the prodomos or in the αὐλή, 'about to go forth.' It

It has been suggested by Prof. Gardner that, as the remains of the house-walls at Tiryns are only about three feet above the ground, a raised postern (*ὀρσοθύρα*) may once have existed in a side-wall of the megaron. On this point, I can only refer to the statement of Dr. Dörpfeld (p. 228), that no trace of such a postern is now discernible. Let us suppose, however, that it once existed. It would then have necessarily been the usual mode of access from the women's apartments to the men's hall. To it, therefore, we should have to refer the often-repeated phrase concerning Penelope standing 'by the door-post of the hall' (1. 333, etc.); which, however, manifestly refers to a principal entrance, and not merely to a postern in a side-wall. But the hypothesis of an *ὀρσοθύρα* at Tiryns, even if it were probable in itself, would leave untouched a whole series of irreconcilable discrepancies between the house at Tiryns and the house of the *Odyssey*. These have been exhibited in the foregoing pages. Here it is enough to recall a few of them in the briefest terms. (1) Odysseus, being at the *lower* end of the hall, refuses to go to the women's rooms because he would have to pass up the hall among the suitors. (Above, I. 1). At Tiryns he would only have had to turn his back upon the suitors, and to leave the hall. (2) The women, coming from their own sleeping-rooms at night, issue from the men's hall, and pass by Odysseus sleeping in the prodomos. At Tiryns they would have gone out by the separate approach to their own court. They could not have passed through the men's hall or its prodomos. (Above, I. 2). (3) Eumæus, when at the *upper* end of the hall, is in the right position to call Eurycleia forth from the women's apartments, and to charge her privily to close them. (Above, II. 1). At Tiryns,—even with the hypothetical *ὀρσοθύρα*,—this could not have so happened. (4) After the slaying, Telemachus, *being in the men's hall*, calls forth Eurycleia by striking a closed door. But both the *ὀρσοθύρα* and the door at the lower end of the hall were then open. And the men's hall at Tiryns, even if we give it an *ὀρσοθύρα*, had no *third* door. (5) The armoury at Tiryns has to be identified with one of the small rooms on the side of the women's hall furthest from the

is absurd to press *ξέμβλητο* as if it necessarily implied that the two persons were moving in exactly contrary

directions. It means simply 'fell in with,' 'chanced to find.'

men's hall. Such a position—accessible from the men's hall only by long and intricate routes—is utterly incompatible with the swift and easy access to the armoury which is supposed in book xxii.

As Prof. Gardner has well observed in this Journal,¹ 'the best proof that the Homeric house had historical reality is to be found in the fact that in the Greek mansion of historical times we can see the descendant of the house of Homer.' That is, as he there explains, the later *ἀνδρών* answers to the Homeric *μέγαρον*, standing between the *αὐλή* and the *γυναικωνίτις*, and communicating with both. This form of house was suited to the Hellenic spirit in domestic life, which was intermediate between the oriental and the modern European; providing, on the one hand, for the seclusion of women from the outer world, and, on the other, for the social unity of the family. The difference between this Hellenic form of house and the form said to exist at Tiryns is not merely a variation of detail; in regard to the most vital aspect of the home, it is a contrast of type. And if the Tiryns type is assumed as that which the Homeric poet intended, the *Odyssey* ceases to be intelligible.

R. C. JEBB.

¹ Vol. iii. p. 281.

ON A BRONZE LEG FROM ITALY.

[PLATES LXIX. AND LXIX. A.]

OF the bronze fragment which forms the subject of Pl. LXIX., and which has been recently acquired for the British Museum, this only is certain: that it is the right leg of an armed figure in motion. With a few fragments of drapery it is, unfortunately, all that remains of a statue of heroic size: there is therefore ample room for speculation as to its subject and action. The leg is armed in a greave, and the pieces of drapery bordered with one of the forms of the Greek fret incised and originally inlaid with silver, must, from the character of the folds, have belonged to the skirt of a short chiton, such as was worn under armour. The figure was therefore that of a hero in full armour, and that it was in motion is sufficiently indicated by the fluttering movement of the pieces of drapery.

It will be well to introduce here some notes which Mr. Murray was kind enough to send to me, and which were a most valuable assistance to me in the preparation of this paper:—

I will offer one or two observations regarding the bronze leg recently acquired for the British Museum from M. Piot in Paris. M. Piot and others have assumed that the original statue of which this leg formed a part had represented a runner in the armed race, *ὀπλίτης δρόμος*. To this view it may be objected first that the action of the muscles of the leg is not the action of a runner, and secondly that with this leg were found three pieces of drapery which evidently belonged to the same statue, and as such preclude the possibility of

its having represented a runner, since the armed race was run without drapery of any kind. It is recorded of the first winner of this race, towards the end of the sixth century, B.C., that his costume consisted of a helmet, shield, and greaves.¹ In the course of time the greaves came to be an encumbrance and were discarded, but except in this respect no change was ever made in the costume of the armed race. In no representation of it that I have seen is there any sign of drapery. On the black-figure vases² from the beginning of the fifth century, B.C., or perhaps a little earlier, we have illustrations of armed runners, always with helmet, shield, and greaves. The same costume continues down towards the end of the fifth century, B.C. on red-figure kylikes of a more or less severe style.³ The greaves appear to have been given up about B.C. 400, if we may judge by a red-figure vase here representing the armed race. The oldest dated vase I know of, on which the runners are without greaves, is a Panathenaic amphora here bearing the archon's name for the year B.C. 336.⁴

If, then, it is still maintained that the bronze leg may be that of an armed runner, it will be necessary to assign it a date not later than B.C. 400, or perhaps B.C. 420. Though quite convinced that it has nothing to do with an armed runner, I would yet readily accept for it a date about B.C. 420. It is hardly conceivable that at any later time there could have been produced a work of such largeness and simplicity of style. Again, if you compare the Gorgon's head on the front of the greave with coins of about the middle of the fifth century, B.C., you will find a striking analogy. Similarly if you consider the broad inlaid border on the fragment of drapery, and compare it with other borders as, for example, that of an archaic bronze statuette here from Verona, you will be led again to near the middle of the fifth century as the most reasonable date.

As regards the complete statue its attitude must, I think, have been that of standing with the weight of the body resting on the left leg, and with the right leg (now preserved) thrown a little back, only the front of the foot touching the ground, much as in a bronze statuette here, of an armed figure, possibly Ares, which also wears greaves along with a cuirass and helmet; from below his cuirass the chiton hangs to halfway down the thigh in thick folds. Now the three fragments of drapery mentioned above, constitute just three such folds, and from this comparison we may carry our restoration of the Piot bronze a step farther and assume the original statue not only to have stood in the manner of this statuette, but to have worn the same form of armour and chiton.

A. S. MURRAY.

¹ Olymp. 65, see Pausanias vi. 10, 2 and compare v. 8, 3.

² See Oinochoe in Brit. Mus. engraved, *Mittheil. d. Inst. in Athen*, 1880, pl. 13.

³ See Kylix in Brit. Mus. signed by painter Pheidippos and potter Hischylos.

⁴ Engraved *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* x. pl. 48^e fig. 3.

As regards the attitude of the figure, my first impression was the same as that which Mr. Murray has expressed, namely, that the leg was thrown back ; but with a springing movement as of a man brandishing a spear, not only because the drapery shows that the figure must have been in motion, but because the play of the muscles of the leg seems to me to preclude the possibility of the figure being at rest. In that case the body must have been more or less upright, and the weight resting fully on the toes of the right foot, with the left foot advanced, and the leg is consequently not placed in its proper position in the case in the Museum ; it should be inclined with the knee forward, and the thigh nearly upright. But I do not think that the action of the leg corresponds to this position. A careful study of the living model (see Plate LXIX. A.) makes it, I think, clear that in no backward attitude of the leg could the muscles take precisely the aspect which they present in the bronze. I have therefore come to the conclusion that the right leg was in advance with the toes resting on the ground, very much in the position in which it is now seen in the Museum, but with the knee possibly a little more forward. The weight, I should think, was divided between the forward and the back leg ; for when the right leg is advanced and the whole weight of the body thrown upon it, the action of the muscles is more violent. It is true that this excess of action is seen more in the thigh than in the leg (and the thigh being wanting we cannot argue from it), for when the toe is pressed on the ground with the leg advanced, the extensor muscles of the leg do not change much with the amount of weight which they have to support ; on the other hand the great tendons of the tibialis and extensor of the great toe come into more violent action than we find in the example before us. Besides, there is an air of lightness in this beautiful limb which is not in accordance with the violent exertion which is even momentarily sustained while the whole weight of the body is thrown on the toes.

The attitude might therefore very well be that of running, the moment chosen being that when the body is about equally poised on the two legs. But to judge of the action of a whole statue from that of the muscles of one leg alone, and that leg broken off above the knee, is really most difficult even with nature before one, and I should not like to commit myself further than

to say that I do not think that the figure can have been simply standing with the leg thrown back.

Therefore, although Mr. Murray in his note disposes conclusively of the supposition that the figure represents a runner in the armed race, I do not think it by any means certain that the hero represented was not in the attitude of a runner.¹

I will also leave to Mr. Murray the question of the probable date; merely remarking that it seems difficult to believe that the workmanship is more recent than the sculptures of the Parthenon. The date might vary slightly according to the locality in which the statue was executed (on which point we unfortunately have no clue), work produced in the provinces possibly retaining traces of archaism after they had finally disappeared in Greece proper. I may remark also that in the absence of the head it would seem unsafe to assign more than an approximate date; judging by the sculptures from Aegina, a free treatment of the limbs preceded the natural rendering of the head; for, as we well know, the heads of the Aeginetan warriors are curiously destitute of life and individuality as compared with the limbs and bodies. At the same time the work of this bronze is far more advanced than that of the Aeginetan sculptures, and I suspect that if a happy chance were to restore to us the head we should find it in no way inferior to the limbs. The treatment proper to bronze may also have retained for that material a certain severity of style at a time when work in marble may have been modified to more softness in the rendering of flesh. No doubt, moreover, the Gorgon's head on the greave gives an expression of a more archaic style than is to be found in the general execution; but, as Mr. Cecil Smith pointed out to me, this treatment of the Gorgon's head is traditional, and therefore is of no use in determining the date for us, except in so far as the style of execution corresponds with the heads on the coins referred to by Mr. Murray.

To the artist, the interest of this magnificent fragment lies not so much in these things, as in its being of unsurpassed

¹ After reading the above remarks at the meeting of the Hellenic Society, it was suggested to me that the statue may have represented a hero mounting a chariot; in that case the left leg would be raised with the foot on the

chariot, and he would be standing with the right foot on the ground just going to spring upwards. The action of the muscles would correspond very well with this intention.

workmanship, and of that culminating period of art, when, having freed itself from the archaism which hampered expression it still retains that severity of style which shews that the idea to be expressed is still the dominant one in the mind of the artist, and that the study of beauty and the utmost skill of workmanship were still to him the means to an end; the means, that is to say, of glorifying to the highest point the subject on which he was engaged.

The slow development of the sense of beauty is one of the most remarkable features in an art of which beauty became finally the most conspicuous attribute. In the earliest specimens of Greek sculpture there is absolutely no trace of it in any form—being in this the very reverse of Egyptian art, where from the beginning there was not only the sentiment of order in composition, but a high sense of symmetry of form, and a still stronger feeling for nature; and this sense of beauty, though limited, and of course never developed, is found throughout the whole range of Egyptian art until the time when it became merely mechanical. With the Greeks the idea to be expressed held the first place; to honour the gods, to reverence the dead, to record and glorify the deeds of their heroes, was their prime aim and object; not the search for beauty, which did not begin until after the highest point was reached; nor the mere love of nature, as in modern art.

In their first efforts at sculpture, the rudest symbolism was all that they could achieve, or cared for. The Apollo of Tenea or Orchomenos is nothing but grotesque, and the reliefs found at Assos shew no sense of order or composition. Nor was it the love of beauty in art for its own sake which brought about the development from these childish works to the incomparable perfection of the Phidian period; the aim was rather towards improvement in the execution of their work, and to approach ever nearer to nature, as being the only means of rendering their idea with truth, and of giving vitality to their figures: but up to the beginning of the fifth century, although we find a rapidly-increasing beauty of composition, both in vases and reliefs, beauty either of individual form or face has, as yet, received no attention. But by degrees, with the knowledge of nature, and the improved mastery over material, gradually acquired during successive generations of artists, and in the

search for distinctions of character and freedom of movement, came the appreciation of beauty, and it at last began to be felt that not only was it the business of the artist to give life and action to his figures, but they should also be exalted by beauty and grandeur of form above the common-places of life. Thus the grand simplicity of treatment which we find in the great works of the Phidian age, was not the result of a conscious endeavour to simplify or conventionalise nature into typical forms; it was, so to speak, inherent in the archaism which the art had hardly shaken off; it was the still lingering tradition of the imperfect art which saw only generic forms, and received only generalised impressions from nature. It is precisely at the point when this sense of the exalting value of noble and beautiful form flashed like an inspiration from heaven on the Greek school that the culmination of art was reached. Of such a period was the heroic figure whose leg we are considering: and my object in introducing this brief disquisition is an endeavour to realise, if possible, the state of mind under which such a work was produced.

Vigour and elegance of line, firmness of form, complete expression of all the subtleties of life and movement, yet with no insistence on trivialities of detail, perfect symmetry of proportion, and, as I have said, workmanship of unsurpassed beauty, are all combined in this superb fragment, which seems to me second to nothing which the museum already possesses. The finish is that of a gem or a coin, while the largeness of treatment is such that it might have been hewn with an axe, and the play of the muscles is as full of spring and elasticity as life itself—the heel alone seems to me a masterpiece. The surface, moreover, of this bronze is in the most perfect condition; I should like to think that it never had more polish than we now see on it: the texture is wonderfully like that of the living epidermis.

But it may be asked how are we in a position to judge of the original movement of the statue from the action of the muscles, when the whole leg is encased in a greave? why should we see this play of muscles at all? and it has been suggested that the greave must be intended for leather, through which the working of the limb can be traced—as in the magnificent Medici statues of Michelangelo—where, through a

leather cuirass, moulded in the form of a torso, by a convention of the artist, the natural movements of the muscles of the chest and abdomen are shewn.

But that the greave cannot be of leather is obvious, for there is no clasp or strap to fasten it round the leg. Moreover we know not only that the greaves of the Greeks were of metal, for they are to be found in all museums, but we see in this leg the division down the back of the greave which allowed it to be opened for the insertion of the leg, on which it closed by its own elasticity; and it resembles in every respect the greaves which are found in the tombs. We know also that these greaves, like the metal cuirasses, were highly modelled in imitation of the natural leg, the anatomy being carefully represented, for there are several such in the British Museum—one pair being ornamented with a Gorgon's head, as in this fragment; they were sometimes carried to as great perfection, in point of art, as the most finished sculpture; as may be seen in a pair belonging to Mr. Boehm, R.A., of a slightly later date than this leg, where the workmanship is of the highest kind. There can, therefore, be no doubt that what is represented here is a bronze greave, which the sculptor was bound to model up to the highest point in imitation of the natural anatomy.

To me it is quite obvious that in representing such a greave on the living figure, the jarring contrast between a limb in action and muscles in a state of repose, was more than the artist could bear; he has therefore chosen to make his greave with the same play of muscles as though the leg were exposed. If the figure had been simply standing, he would have made the muscles at rest.

It only remains for me to congratulate the British Museum on the acquisition of so unique a specimen of the acme of Greek art.

E. J. POYNTER.

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.

TWO UNPUBLISHED VASES IN THE GRAECO-ETRUSCAN MUSEUM AT FLORENCE.

[PLATE LXX.]

MY object in the following paper is two-fold; first, to comment on two hitherto unpublished vases relating to the myth of the Judgment of Paris; secondly, to discuss the typography of the myth generally, and in particular to offer some suggestions as to the origin of its early art form.

First as to the unpublished vases. Both the amphora and the pinax are now in the Graeco-Etruscan Museum at Florence. The drawings and photographs were executed under the kind supervision of the Director of the Museum, Sig. Milani; he was however unable to tell me where the vases were found: they are manifestly both of Attic work. It is fortunate that they both are now in the same Museum, as they present certain well-marked analogies in treatment, evident at the most cursory glance.

A detailed description of the two vases is superfluous, as accurate reproductions lie before the reader, but I would call attention to one or two points. The amphora (Plate LXX. and Fig. 1) I should class as belonging to very early black-figured manner—before the regular B. F. Attic style is fully established—with reminiscences of the so-called ‘Chalcidian’ and of the ‘Corinthian’ styles. We note especially the curiously cut cloaks of the women, which appear frequently on Corinthian vases, of which there are numerous examples in the Louvre; and we note also the rosettes on the animal frieze and the very ‘Chalcidian’ *horror vacui*, e.g. the little owl between the feet of Hermes.

The dress of the figures has on the other hand marked analogies with the François vase, and with such early bits of work as the Marathon plate (Köhler, *Mitt.* 1882, Taf. 3). This



FIG. 1.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA IN PLATE.

analogy is specially marked in the dress of Paris, where the Dionysos of the Marathon plate wears just such a fine-ribbed chiton indicated by waving lines. This love of ribbed lines is further observable in the wavy lines that indicate the trees

(see on this 'Chalcidian' peculiarity, Cecil Smith, 'Four Archaic Vases from Rhodes,' *Journal Hell. Stud.* V. p. 224). I may note in passing that these fine-ribbed chitons continued in special favour with the potter Amasis (e.g. the figure of Dionysos, *A. Z.* 1884, Taf. 15). The figure of Paris is identical in dress and almost identical in posture on both amphora and plate. It is in every detail (ungirt, ribbed chiton with border



FIG. 2.—PINAX IN MUSEUM AT FLORENCE.

at neck and feet, narrow form of Doric himation) exactly similar to that of Peleus in the vase which shows such marked analogies to the style of Amasis (Heydemann, *Griech. Vas.* T. 6, 4, see F. Studniczka, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht*, p. 66).

The only substantial differences between the treatment in the two vases are (1) the figure of Hermes which differs in

dress and action, (2) on the amphora we have two figures added to fill up the ampler space. I attach no mythological importance to them; they are primarily space fillers, secondarily, they are engaged in what if we discuss Italian art we should call the 'sacre conversazioni.' As regards the amphora as a whole it falls under the class noted by Dr. Furtwängler, in his catalogue of the Berlin vases, as *Attische Amphoren*, 2β, Gruppe 3, though it precisely corresponds to none of the Berlin specimens. Of published vases the nearest to it in character is the recently published amphora found at Corneto, with Herakles and the Amazons and the hunt of the Calydonian boar (*Monumenti*, 1884, Taf. ix.-x.). The pinax has two holes in the upper part of the rim which seem to have been made for the purpose of passing a string through to suspend it. As to the treatment of the myth we may note that it is an instance of the class I shall call in my scheme *b*. Hermes leads the three goddesses into the presence of Paris, Paris betrays alarm:—before passing on I would call attention to the fact that, similar though the goddesses are, the centre one (whom I believe to be uniformly Athene) is distinguished by the presence of spots on her cloak, and further by the talaric chiton after the Ionian fashion of the ἐλκεχίτωνες (*Il.* 13, 685): these ἐλκεχίτωνες appear in Corinthian, 'Chalcidian' and early Attic work, and, as Mr. C. Smith has remarked, appear on the Harpy tomb (see *op. cit.* p. 230).

I turn to my second point, the discussion of the typography of the myth.

I do not intend to attempt the complete enumeration of all known instances. The black-figured vases have recently been exhibited in tabular form by Dr. A. Schneider in his *Der troische Sagenkreis in der ältesten griechischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1886), and as this book is in the hands of every student of the Trojan cycle of myths, I shall adopt his lettering in referring to the vases, and shall not repeat his enumeration of the familiar literature of the subject. He does not undertake to give a list that shall be complete, nor do I think such completeness at all essential for the discussion of the question of typography: instances of the myth are, as every one knows, remarkably numerous, and in a great number of cases the treatment is in all matters of importance perfectly uniform: the mere enumeration of such is a barren task and may well

be omitted. The essential thing is to accumulate sufficient material for the safe establishment of the principal type-forms, subsequent instances will then only need to be noted in so far as they present variations.

Before however I begin the work of classification I will briefly note a few vases which do not appear in existing lists, and which seem to me to be of sufficient importance to be registered. I number them separately; belonging as they do to all styles and periods, I cannot attempt to incorporate them into Dr. Schneider's list. Three belong to the Antikenkabinet at Copenhagen, two are in the Louvre, one in the National Museum at Naples, two at Palermo.

1. Oinochoë. Copenhagen. B. F. Paris turns to fly at the approach of Hermes and the three goddesses.

2. Lekythos. Copenhagen. B. F. Paris turns to face Hermes, who is followed by the three goddesses: behind Paris a low chair, from which he has just risen.

3. Lid of a Pyxis. Copenhagen. Fine Attic style; published *Vases peints*, Dumont et Chaplain, III. plate x. This vase, though long known to exist, has attracted but little notice. The representation is unique: Hera advances in a chariot drawn by four horses, Athene by two bearded snakes, Aphrodite by two Erotes.

4. Amphora. Paris. B. F. Three goddesses stand almost in a line. Paris attempts to fly. Hermes seizes him by the left wrist (*vide* wood-cut to type *B*).

5. Amphora. Paris. B. F. Two goddesses only. Paris attempts to fly. Hermes raises left hand in speech: inscriptions unintelligible.

6. Krater. Naples. Very late R. F. (Heydemann, *Cat.* 2870). Paris seated (below handle) in Phrygian dress and holding spear. To him behind small tree approaches Hermes followed by two chariots, each drawn by two horses and containing each two goddesses. In the front chariot Athene and Hera, behind Aphrodite and Artemis. Above Hermes indications of rock and foliage behind which appears Pan holding pedom: inscriptions ΠΑΡΙΞ ΑΘΑΝΑΙΗ ΑΡΤΙΙΞ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑ . . ΗΕ . . Lower part of figure of Paris effaced and upper part of Hermes. The drawing is very late and coarse, the manner of depiction both as regards the presence of Artemis and Pan and the inscription ΠΑΡΙΞ

(in place of the customary Ἀλέξανδρος) unique, but I see no reason to suspect the genuineness of the vase, though possibly the inscriptions are modern.

7. Fragment of Vase. Palermo. Fine red-figured. Paris in Phrygian cap, high boots, Greek chiton, holding in left hand two spears, is seated on rock. Hermes in chiton, chlamys, and flat hat, raises left hand in token of speech. This occupies the whole fragment, probably obverse of a cotylus. We may suppose that on the reverse the three goddesses were depicted.

8. Amphora. Palermo. R. F. Obverse, Paris seated on rock, wears chlamys and flat hat and boots: right hand raised meditatively to support chin, left hand holds club. To him approaches Athene only, in helmet and aegis, right hand holding spear, left rests on hip: behind her Hermes in similar attitude. Reverse, youth draped, holds staff: to him approaches draped female figure offering alabastron; behind her, second draped figure.

I would add also that the oinochoë marked *A* in Dr. Schneider's list and 5 in Overbeck's, and noted as belonging to Colonel Coghill, is in the possession of Mr. Ionides, of Holland Park, London, by whose kind permission I saw and identified it. The Aegina amphora marked 'q' 'Privatbes. i. Athen,' must be I think the one I examined in the private collection of M. Rhousopoulos: it is of the most delicate archaic style, the flesh parts of the women white, the centre figure holds a spear so that she may safely be described as Athene. Hermes does *not* wear Flügelschuhe, only the high, pointed boots. On the reverse is the combat of Theseus and Minotaur. In any tabular view of the typography of a myth it seems to me a grave oversight to omit the indication of the *reverse* subject; for purposes of identification, if for nothing else, it is essential.

I now proceed to the classification. I have preferred to keep the number of classes or of type forms few, and to note under these few heads the more important modifications. The classification is in many respects so obvious that its main outline has been already anticipated, but I shall hope to show, when I come to the question of the origin of the original type form, that the somewhat stricter system I propose is not without its use. I letter the types in capitals, the modifications in small letters.

TYPE A.—Procession form, Paris absent.

Hermes advances, usually to the right, followed by the three goddesses. Usually Athene only is characterised, and, when characterised, she invariably walks second. Hera and Aphrodite (Athene also sometimes) uncharacterised.



TYPE A.

TYPE B.—Procession form, Paris present, *standing*.

As before but Paris present; he stands, facing Hermes.

b. Modification of B. Paris shows alarm in one of three ways.

1. He simply turns to fly.
2. Hermes seizes him by the arm or shoulder.
3. Hermes actually wrestles with Paris.



TYPE B 3.

TYPE C.—Procession form, Paris present, *seated*.

The order of the goddesses fluctuates; Paris usually surrounded by some attempt at scenic effect, a tree, a house, his flocks, etc.

c. Modification, the goddesses arrive in chariots.

*c*². One or two goddesses represented instead of three.



TYPE C.

TYPE D.—Procession form abandoned.

Paris seated or standing in the centre or to the right or left. The three goddesses grouped around in every variety of pose. Often many unimportant accessory figures.

d. Important accessory figures indicated often in back-ground. Themis, Eris, Zeus, chariot of Helios, and especially Apollo, Artemis, and Apolline symbols.



TYPE D.

Before discussing the origin of type *A* and its development into *B*, *C* and *D*, I must offer a few somewhat disjointed remarks on certain instances of the several types.

With reference to type *A* the important facts to be borne in mind are (1) that the type is confined so far as I am aware to black-figured Attic vases, (2) that frequently the goddesses are not characterized at all, where they are it is to Athene only that prominence is given. The Attic origin of the work may account for her prominence, but it does *not* account for her taking invariably the second place: in red-figured vases, *e.g.* the Hieron cup in Berlin, she not unfrequently walks first. I shall have to offer later a suggestion to account for this middle position.

Dr. Schneider has rightly observed with respect to the Xenokles cup that the crouching or seated attitude of Hermes is merely due to inadequate space—we are not to regard it as Overbeck has done as representing a preliminary deliberation. I would add however that at the time when Xenokles worked in all probability the type of the *seated Paris C* was in vogue, and that this may have suggested the seated Hermes. I would add further what seems to have passed hitherto unnoticed, that in the Xenokles cup the goddesses present a curious modification of the 'three in one cloak' type: the upper part of the cloak is common to all, but each has also a separate piece over or outside the arm. I am taking for granted that Overbeck's reproduction based on that of Raoul Rochette is correct: the cup itself is lost. Dr. Furtwängler thinks that this type of two or more women enveloped in one cloak is nothing but a *simplification conventionnelle*, and has no reference to actual custom (*Collection Sabouroff, Coupe d'Argos*, plate li.). On the general principle I am not inclined to agree with him: when two women or more stand, those farthest from each other face to face with a large and unnecessary space of cloak stretched out between them, I cannot regard the treatment as *une simplification*. My own impression is that there was some religious ceremony in which two or more women enveloped themselves in one cloak, that this ceremony was depicted on vase paintings, that subsequently seeing its convenience the vase painter adopted the type for mere ordinary scenes in which two or more women similarly attired walked together.

This I believe to be the case in the Xenokles cup, and Xenokles, always a cramped, somewhat confused draughtsman, halts between two opinions, and makes an impossible cloak half common to all three, half separate to each.

Dr. Schneider gives seventeen instances of the simple procession type of Hermes and the three goddesses; many additions might be added, but these are amply sufficient to establish it.

We pass to type *B*.

Instances in which Paris is simply standing quietly awaiting the arrival of the procession are comparatively rare. It is noticeable also that in several instances of this type one of the goddesses is omitted (*e.g.*, *G. A. V.* clxxii.). This I attribute not so much to carelessness on the part of the artist as to the fact that his eye was thoroughly habituated to the type *A*, *i.e.* three figures preceded by a fourth. How curiously the artist was filled with the processional character of the scene may be noted in *G. A. V.* clxxiii. where Paris heads the procession and Hermes (taking the place of Paris) turns round to watch it approaching: the figure of Paris has been called Apollo or a Muse because he holds the lyre: a black-figured Muse does not so far as I know exist, and the black-figured lyre-playing Apollo is quite a different figure.

I would further remark that type *B* so long as it is black-figured remains strictly processional: but the type was taken over by red-figured vase painters, and under the influence no doubt of type *D*, where the processional order is lost, its strict early form becomes modified. An example of what I mean is the delicate red-figured pyxis of the Sabouroff Collection at Berlin (Furtwängler, *Coll. Sab.* lxi.): here Athene stands *behind* Paris, and Hera the last in order turns her back on Aphrodite to meet Iris or some winged female messenger who approaches.

In type *B* there is distinctly perceptible the beginning of a desire to characterize Hera and Aphrodite, as well as Athene. Hera walks first, Aphrodite last. It is easy to see the reason: the fact of the *judgment* is distinctly emphasized by the presence of Paris, and therefore clear differentiation becomes necessary. I pass to a very interesting variation of *B*, *i.e.* the scheme (*b*) in which Paris expresses reluctance, and as a rule undergoes compulsion. Dr. Schneider notes seven instances; if to these we add two Paris amphoras (Nos. 4 and 5 of my list) and the two

vases now published for the first time, we have in all eleven instances of the *b* scheme: they are in fact more numerous than *B*. They are uniformly black-figured with the single but well-marked exception of the British Museum stamnos (Overbeck, *G. H.* ix. 8). I think the reason of this is not far to seek. The great Attic cylix painters Hieron, Brygos, and their contemporaries, took up the type with Paris *seated*, and by their graceful treatment of it effaced the popularity of the standing type. The rude motive of the actual struggle was supplanted by such gentler sentiments as amazement and admiration. Whether there was any literary tradition of the struggle between Paris and Hermes I do not pretend to decide; it is by no means necessary to presuppose such tradition; the artist is quite as well able to invent such a modification of the story as the poet himself: indeed in one instance he noticeably goes back on *artistic* in place of literary tradition in the well-known lekythos of the Berlin Museum (Furtwängler, *Cat.* 2005, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Taf. 11) where the Peleus and Thetis wrestling scheme is adopted for Hermes and Paris. We may note also that in all early conceptions of myths we find a tendency to the exhibition of forcible situations with a view to emphasizing the compulsory obedience to the will of the gods.

In type *C* the essential advance in the treatment of the subject is that Paris is *seated*; he no longer forms any part of the procession, nor is he liable to be confused with Hermes who approaches him. A sort of transition from the standing to the seated type is to be noted in the Copenhagen lekythos (number 2 of my supplementary list): here Paris has just risen from a low chair. Type *C* is an essentially red-figured type, but two black-figured instances are known, Overbeck, ix. 6, and an amphora in the British Museum: in both Paris is seated in a quaint inclined position on a rock, indicated by a curved line.

The vase painter of type *C* seems to give his fancy full rein as regards the order of precedence among the three goddesses: in the Hieron cylix (Berlin, 2291) Athene is first; in another Berlin cylix of the fine Attic style (Berlin, 2536), Aphrodite; in the Brygos cylix they are undistinguishable; in a Nolan amphora of the British Museum (Overbeck, *G. H.* x. 1), Aphro-

dite heads the procession. Olympian etiquette is fast becoming relaxed, among the goddesses there is a rapidly growing feeling of democratic equality.

It is not necessary to dwell on all the graceful picturesque variations of the simple theme, which are due wholly to the play of the vase painter's fancy. To turn from the stiff stereo-typed procession of types *A* and *B* and the black-figured instances of *C* to the work of the red-figured cylix painters is to pass from frost-bound winter to the new impulse, the budding life of spring. Sometimes Paris is seated in a little temple house and watches unabashed with kingly grace the coming of the goddesses: at another he hides his face behind his cloak in rustic terror. Brygos makes him sing to his lyre, and with up-turned head take no notice of the coming procession; sometimes a flock of goats gathers thick about him, sometimes a single sheep suffices as a symbol. With the goddesses there is every graceful variety of posture and attribute. Hera holds a small lion, or Aphrodite a tiny love-god perched upon her hand or perhaps a throng of loves clustering about her head. To base any theory on this endless diversity of attributes and arrangement would be useless and absurd. With respect however to the presence of the love-gods I would notice one particular instance, both because I think it marks a definite advance in feeling and because it has some interest with respect to Dr. Benndorf's new theory of interpretation as to the 'Thanatos' drum of the column from Ephesus in the British Museum. In a cyathos of the Berlin Museum (No. 2610, *Annali* 1833, tav. d'agg. E.) which belongs to type *C*, Eros is standing evidently talking to Aphrodite and encouraging her as to the issue: a full-grown Eros is quite common when we come to type *D*, but in the procession form *C* with this one exception he never appears. The Erotes one or many who hover about Aphrodite in type *C* whether one or many are *attributive*, scarcely personal; when Eros enters as a distinct personality, powerful to persuade and compel, not merely as a sort of symbol of the charm of Aphrodite, we have an evident advance in sentiment, we are nearing the Praxitelean manner. In fact as regards Eros the myth in question has three stages: 1st, in types *A* and *B* Eros is wholly absent, 2nd, in *C* he is present *attributively*, 3rd, in *D* and in the one case cited of *C* he

is present *personally*, often in his three aspects as Eros, Pothos, and Himeros. If Dr. Benndorf (*Bullettino d. Comm. Archeologica Comunale*, Rome, 1886, xiv. 1, 2, 3, p. 54) is right in interpreting the scene on the Ephesos drum as the Judgment of Paris, we have a full-grown personal Eros in the processional type, just as in the cyathos in question.

Type *C* undergoes many modifications according to the space at command or the fancy of the painter, *e.g.* in the Nolan amphora of the British Museum referred to before and in the amphora (wood-cut to type *C*), Paris and the three goddesses occupy the obverse, Hermes alone the reverse: in the Palermo fragment (my number 7) Paris and Hermes occupy one side and (presumably) the three goddesses the other.

Modification *c* calls for no special comment. It is so far as I know confined to the two instances I have cited, the Copenhagen and the Naples vases (my list 3 and 6). It was a pleasant fancy of the vase painters to make the goddesses come in their chariots, but it is a fancy that suggests that the interest of the myth itself was somewhat exhausted and needed the stimulus of artificial treatment.

Finally we may note under type *C* a transition stage to *D*. In a lekythos published by Welcker, *A. D. v. Taf. B, 1*, the procession form is beginning to disappear. The centre goddess Athene stands in repose with her feet crossed, not advancing at all; the hindmost goddess, whether Hera or Aphrodite, is *seated* balancing the seated figure of Paris.

Lastly in type *D* the procession form wholly vanishes: whatever thought (and this question we shall consider later) prompted this procession form in the early types is now wholly forgotten. Paris is the centre of the scene, Hermes and the three goddesses are scattered about—as it seems, no matter how. A very troublesome element in the late form of this as of every other myth are the accessory figures. These for the most part are unmeaning, attendants perhaps, women with fans, extra gods, space-filling ‘supers’ of every kind. This fourth century type came in of course with the love of loud showy compositions, perspective elements and all the other signs of decorative and expressive decadence. Often in this class of vase the figures are so vaguely characterized that it is impossible to say if the painter really intended to depict a ‘Judgment’ or

not; the impression left on one's mind is that he was too idle and indifferent to care to make up his mind what he really did mean. Among the mass of such vases, vulgar to look at, unprofitable to discuss, there stand out, however, a small number which we class as *d*, i.e. the type with *important* accessory figures. These I would note under two heads. 1st. Those which seek to lend a new motive to the contest by the introduction of Themis or Eris: such are the well-known Karlsruhe vase (Overbeck, *H. G.* xi. 1), with Eris; its scarcely less well-known sister of St. Petersburg (see woodcut, type *D*). 2nd. Those which add a new factor in the conditions of the judgment by the introduction of Zeus or Apollo with Delphic surroundings—instances of this are the new Vienna krater (*Vorlegeblätter*, Serie E, xi. a vase of the highest interest which adds new emphasis to problems already suggested by such vases as *Vorlegeblätter*, Serie A, x. 2, and A, ix. 1. In these it will be remembered that Zeus appears and seems to delegate the Judgment rather to Apollo than to Paris. This new conception I believe to be in close connection with the *Themis* origin of the strife—the figure of Themis seated on the Delphian tripod (*Vorlegeblätter*, Serie A, xi. 2) in the middle of a cylix will not be forgotten. Together with the appearance of Themis as new *cause*, and Apollo as new *decider* of the strife, there appears the desire to add scenic effect by introducing in the background the chariot of Helios and the figure of Selene or Eos—but this may probably be put down to the general love of the fourth and fifth century for this cosmical background.

It is my purpose here only to raise the question of the special connection of Apollo with the myth. I do not see my way at present to the solution of the difficulty. It is of course perfectly easy to conceive that the delicate question of the priority of the goddesses was referred to the Delphic oracle, but what we really want to know is what causes the marked appearance in the fourth century of this factor in the depiction of the vase-paintings. Was there some special literary impulse or did some great monumental picture or sculptural group suggest the idea—or, lastly, was there some great contemporaneous impulse to the worship of Apollo which caused this element to be introduced into the Judgment—and into many other myths?

I turn from this general discussion of the typography of the myth to the more definite and positive subject of my paper, *i.e.* my theory as to the origin of the early type-form of the 'Judgment.'

At the outset we are met by a fact that piques curiosity and prompts us to investigation. Every commentator on the 'Judgment' vase-paintings has noticed one curious point. I mean the presence and long persistence of type *A*. Hermes and the three goddesses *alone, without Paris*. Surely it is a curious way to represent the myth with the principal figure conspicuous by its absence. The early vase painter if he was nothing else was a story-teller and a somewhat garrulous one, he was much more likely to err in the addition than in the suppression of detail: no technical difficulty here stands in his way—if he could draw four figures he could add a fifth—why then in so large a number of cases does he advisedly dock the scene of its principal actor, and represent a purely preliminary stage? Further, why does he adopt the procession-form at all? We are so used to this procession-form that it perhaps requires some effort of the imagination to conceive of the myth as embodied otherwise, but if we rid ourselves of preconceived notions, surely the natural way of representing the myth would be something of this sort: Paris in the centre facing the successful goddess Aphrodite to whom he speaks or hands a crown, behind him—to indicate neglect—the two disappointed goddesses, Hermes anywhere, just to indicate the mandate of the gods, in fact such a form as actually appears later on a pyxis already cited, Furtwängler, *Sabouroff Collection*, lxi. Wherever, in fact, we have an order strictly processional, *Hermes* present always and always conspicuous, we have a form that seems to me to tell its own story, *i.e.* that it was not *made* for the myth but merely adapted and taken over, having had originally another and more apposite significance—a myth in which Paris played no part at all.

Welcker (*A. D.* v. 366) felt the difficulty and in the manner of his times accounted for it by supposing the procession-form based on some special *literary* emphasis on the going to Ida; he concludes that 'die Poesie gleich diesem ersten Theile einen gewissen Charakter oder Glanz gegeben hätte' (Welcker, *Ep. Kyklos* II. 88). Dr. Lückenbach in his *Verhältniss der griech-*

ischen Vasenbilder, 592, denies this literary source and suggests that the early art form of the myth was due to the *live of archaic art for processions*. Dr. Schneider, *Der troische Sagenkreis*, p. 99, revives Welcker's *literary* interpretation, according to the reactionary canons he consistently adopts throughout his book. In general I have no hesitation in saying that I am with Dr. Lückenbach in his method of interpretation, and entirely adverse to Dr. Schneider, but in this particular question I have my own solution to offer which coincides entirely with neither of theirs. The general question would need to be discussed in connection with a large number of myths, and this is beyond the scope of the present paper; I can therefore here only say that though I thank Dr. Schneider for pointing out (p. 2) the ever-present peril of the exaggeration of a principle, I still adhere to the 'Schulprogramm' (*op. cit.* p. 2) of typography to which he is so strongly averse, and I hope in this individual instance I am now discussing to support and strengthen my position.

I will first state why it seems to me that the explanations both of Dr. Schneider and Dr. Lückenbach are inadequate. First Dr. Schneider's *literary* explanation. Proklos says, *νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους ἐνίστησιν Ἀθηνᾶ Ἥρα καὶ Ἀφροδίτη, αἱ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν Ἰδῇ κατὰ Διὸς προσταγὴν ὑφ' Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἄγονται*—here Dr. Schneider stops, but it is better to cite the whole passage, *καὶ προκρίνει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς Ἑλλήνις γάμοις ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος*. Now taking this passage as a fair summary of the account of the Judgment in the Cypria, one is forced to own that in all probability the poet dwelt on three points, the beginning of the strife among the goddesses, the coming of Hermes and his leading them to Paris, and the Judgment itself. But suppose the ancient vase-painter to be perfectly unfettered in his choice, there is nothing to make him give preference to the procession to Ida: in fact that, if anything, is the transitional unimportant moment; the two important moments are, the kindling of the strife and the pronouncing of the Judgment. If therefore we even suppose (which I do not for a moment) that the vase-painter based his representation on the account in the Cypria, what governed his selection of the moment? and why did he choose the least important? I wish to make clear that I agree with Dr. Schneider in supposing that the going to Ida was described in the Cypria, but

I disagree with him in supposing that that is sufficient to account for the marked prominence of the procession-form in the art expression of the myth.

If the vase-painting were based on the literary form, what we should naturally have would be *e.g.*, obverse, the three goddesses led by Hermes to Ida, reverse, the actual judgment but quite distinct in type, whereas what we *do* find is that the procession is the root and ground of the art form, the all-important and constant factor in it, and Paris is present or absent in a very strange and subordinate fashion.

Turning to Dr. Lückenbach we find that his suggestion is that archaic art loved processions, hence the Judgment is conceived of as a procession. Surely this is going a little too far, we can scarcely wonder that Dr. Schneider is roused to wrath. Ancient art did undoubtedly love processions, but not with a passion so foolish and unreasonable : the Judgment is a situation essentially stationary, Hermes a subordinate figure ; in depicting other myths, ancient art is not driven to express its thought in terms of an inappropriate procession ; it is indeed, as I am always eager to maintain, usually governed by traditional form but not to the extent of unnecessary obscurity in the thought to be expressed. We need a stronger motive power, we are driven it seems to me to the supposition that the black-figured type *A* was not invented at all for the myth it represents, but was taken over from a conception processional in its nature, and in which Hermes played a prominent and necessary part.

Type *A* contains unfortunately no very early instances, no Corinthian work, not even any very early Attic work, only for the most part vases of the stereotyped black-figured style. The vases I publish here for the first time are among the earliest instances, and yet the artist is obviously only repeating a thrice-told tale. Where Corinthian and early Attic vases fail us we turn of course to literature and ask if we have any account of Peloponnesian works of art embodying the myth at an earlier date. On both the chest of Cypselos and the throne of Apollo at Amyclae it appears—and in both it is satisfactory to find that the treatment coincides with that of type *A*. The presence of Paris is not indeed, as some have said, precluded, but the main emphasis is laid on Hermes and the form is evidently processional. The passages of Pausanias are too well known to

need citation. What it is important to us to note is that the established type of the myth in the art of the seventh century B.C. was that of a procession of the goddesses led by Hermes, and this type it was that was taken over to the B. F. Attic vase-paintings of the sixth and fifth century.

We have yet another branch of evidence to examine. It is not well to consider vase-paintings in complete isolation: have other departments of art, *e.g.* sculpture, bronzes, terra-cottas of archaic style so early that they might be supposed to have influenced B. F. vase-paintings, left us any instances of the 'Judgment of Paris'?

If we ask this question in its point-blank form the answer has to be 'No.' Of this myth so widely popular in B. F. vase-painting, other forms of contemporary art have left us, so far as I am aware, no trace; but if we put the question in another and more abstracted form—if we ask, has archaic art left us any type of these goddesses linked together by a common purpose and under the guidance of Hermes? the answer will I think be more favourable, and will to my mind offer the solution of the difficulty.

A large class of reliefs exist, of which two in the Sabouroff collection at Berlin (Furtwängler, *Coll. Sab.* plate xxviii.) may be taken as typical, or again, the well-known relief from Gallipoli, now at Vienna.

The subject is Hermes conducting three nymphs into the presence of Pan. Pan is seated on a rock. The resemblance to type *C* of our myth is obvious and striking even at the most superficial glance. The style, however, of these nymph reliefs is uniformly late: the earliest known is I believe the Archandros relief published by Milchhöfer, *Mitt.* V. p. 206. It may date about the time of Pheidias, or a little later. Now obviously if these reliefs of late date were all we had, we could base nothing on the resemblance, however striking it might be. Happily we can trace back the type to earlier days. Dr. Furtwängler, in his admirable paper on the Charites of the Acropolis (*Mitt.* III. 181) has shown beyond a doubt that these frequent nymph reliefs are but the descendants of a much earlier type, namely, of the Charites led by Hermes. He distinguishes three stages in the development—1st, the Charites alone, 2nd, the Charites led by Hermes, 3rd, the Charites transformed into nymphs and

led by Hermes into the presence of Pan. I believe that in the second stage we find the origin of our myth type *A*. Literature abundantly connects Hermes and the Charites: the prayer at the Thesmophoria will not be forgotten (Aristoph. *Thesm.* line 300), καὶ τῷ Ἑρμῇ καὶ Χάρισιν; Plutarch says (*de recta aud. rat.* 13), ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ταῖς Χάρισιν οἱ παλαιοὶ συγκαθίδρυσεν, and again (*de nat. decorum* cap. XVI., p. 164) Ἡγέμονα παραδιδόασιν αὐτῶν (τῶν Χαρίτων) τὸν Ἑρμῆν; in Samos Hermes was worshipped as Χαριδώτης, and in a sacrificial



FIG. 3.—NYMPH RELIEF FROM GALLIPOLI.

inscription in pre-Eucleidic letters found at Eleusis, Hermes Agoraios and the Charites are named together. For the whole literature of the subject I refer to O. Benndorf, 'Die Chariten des Sokrates,' *A. Z.* 1869, p. 58, where he discusses the well-known Vatican relief of the Three Graces and the other replicas of the same subject.

I only cite these passages to show that the worship of Hermes as leader of the Three Graces was familiar to οἱ παλαιοὶ; it is therefore, *à priori*, highly probable that in very early days there

were votive reliefs representing Hermes and the Three Charites, although our earliest actual instances are of the fourth century, B.C.—those referred to by Dr. Furtwängler (*op. cit.*). A very closely analogous monument of the early fifth century is the Thasos relief in the Louvre, where the Charites are certain from the inscription. Hermes is their leader, as Apollo is that of the Muses.

I am inclined to think that my view of the origin of type *A* may be confirmed by an examination of details, and this in two special particulars. (1) I have repeatedly noted that in type *A* one goddess only is characterized, *i.e.* the middle one, Athene. It is I think a noticeable fact that in the type of the Charites later developed into the Nymphs one trait is almost constant—the middle figure turns *en face*. This, of course, arose from the desire to compose the group pleasantly. In type *A* frequently, though not always, Athene turns her head and looks back at the third goddess. It has been usual to interpret this by supposing that the third goddess was either a sort of Cinderella, disliked and snubbed by the two elder goddesses, or else that she is regarded with fear proleptically as the successful rival. I am not prepared to say that one or other or both these notions were not in the mind of the red-figured vase painter, but I think the variant attitude of the second goddess was already fixed in accordance with the Charites type; in fact, I think the attitude suggested the thought rather than the thought the attitude. If contempt or fear had been the primary motive of the attitude both the goddesses would have equally turned round to gaze at Aphrodite, instead of one only. It would perhaps be fanciful to draw attention to the fact that the second Charis is draped in the Doric chiton again merely from the desire to get variety in the design, and that this possibly may have suggested the position of the severer Athene; the third Charis or Nymph frequently muffles the hand in drapery, an attitude which appears also in the Aphrodite of many of the vase-paintings.

(2) Very frequent attributes in the hands of any or all of the goddesses are flowers and fruit. The fruit, indeed, has given rise often to wrong interpretations, and has been made to stand for the golden apple of Discord, which, as is now well known, never appears on vase-paintings. Now I am well aware that it

is no unfrequent thing to find a woman figure carrying flowers and fruit when no special meaning can be attached to it. I cannot, however, forbear noting that in the hands of the Charites they have peculiar significance. Our word Graces but feebly and partially expresses the function of these goddesses, and seizes indeed only their later and more superficial aspect. The Charites are primarily *nature goddesses of increase*, the givers of all good things to man, the goddesses of fruitfulness. Aphrodite herself is but the mightiest of their number; her worship was closely associated with theirs. In the regular Charites and Nymph type of the reliefs the three hold hands, and therefore cannot carry gifts, but in the closely-analogous type of the Eumenides reliefs (*Mitt.* IV. 9) the three Eumenides hold flowers, in their capacity of benevolent givers of gifts.

I believe it to be a mere coincidence, and attach no importance whatever to the fact, but it is curious to note that in gems of late date (*c.g.* Overbeck, *G.H.* XI. 9) the three goddesses take the precise form of the later representations of the Graces and pose in an attitude evidently copied from the group most familiar in the replica of Siena.

My special business is with the origin of the *art form* of the myth, but I would note that there is a certain analogy between the Charites and even the *literary* aspect of the goddesses of the Judgment. The myth of the judgment has been for the most part regarded as having its origin in the beauty-contests, *καλλιστεία*, which are known to have taken place among mortal women; others regarded it as an echo of the Three Sisters Saga common to so many nations. It is possible and probable that many strands may have gone to its weaving, and I do not pretend to the trained mythological sense necessary for their disentanglement. I would throw out, however, this concluding suggestion. May not an element in the myth be this, that the three goddesses are the *Charites as rivals*, the gift-givers at strife? As gift-givers they appear before Paris; as gift-givers we may remember these very three goddesses conjointly with Artemis dowered the daughters of Pandareus (*Odyssey*, XX. 64). We cannot too carefully remember that as rivals in *beauty* they appear only in late degenerate art. I cannot therefore for a moment regard the *καλλιστεῖον* as the kernel of the myth. This notion is contemporary with the

in-coming of the golden apple ; rather to my mind there underlies the myth a thought far more austere and reverent. The Judgment of Paris is a conflict of *σημεῖα* ; the perfectly fortunate man needs for the dowering of his life the *χάρις* of glory, the *χάρις* of wisdom, the *χάρις* of love ; but it may be he must choose between them, and according to ancient thinking the mightiest of these is Aphrodite, the *χάρις* of love.

It may seem that this is an abstract notion unnatural to early days, but I think the further one goes back to the origines of Greek mythology the more one is struck by a certain fluctuating quality, a certain instability of personality, interchangeability of attributes. It is not so much vagueness as a certain economy of utterance both literary and artistic which makes one thing serve many purposes. It is like the absence of precise differentiation in the early uses of mood and tense. Hence it seems to me that in regarding the three Judgment goddesses as rival Charites we are in harmony with the spirit of early mythological developments : the method is sound for the literary form of the myth as for its artistic expression.

Briefly to resume, it seems to me probable, as regards the art form of the myth :—

1. That the origin of type *A* was the taking over of the type of Hermes leading the Charites.

2. That this accounts for the prominence of Hermes and the at first subordinate position or even absence of Paris.

3. That it further accounts for the fact that at first the middle goddess only is differentiated.

4. That the theory of the subordinate position of Paris in the myth is further supported by the fact that in fourth century representations there is observable a tendency to refer the Judgment to Apollo rather than Paris.

5. That possibly as Hermes and the Charites are the prototype of Hermes and the three goddesses, so the seated Pan in the Nymph reliefs may be the prototype of Paris and his rival surroundings in red-figured vase-paintings.

That as regards the myth itself of the Judgment apart from its art form :—

1. An important element in the myth is the aspect of the three goddesses as rival Charites or gift-givers.

2. That the myth in this form may have existed long

before the Trojan war, and had no necessary connection with Paris.

3. That it was connected with Paris in consequence of the prominence given to Aphrodite, and therefore by a writer (possibly the author of the *Cypria*) who desired to honour Aphrodite.

4. That the notion of the *καλλιστεῖον* leaving, as it does, no trace in early literature or early art cannot be regarded as the origin of the myth. The Judgment was, like the conflict between Athene and Poseidon, a contest of characteristic gifts, *σημεῖα*.

It occurs to me that the view stated above as to the origin of the type may serve to throw light on a curious late black-figured amphora of the Berlin museum (Furtwängler's *Cat.* 2154). On the obverse of this vase Hermes *carrying a ram* precedes three female figures in the regular "Judgment" scheme. The women carry flowers and fruit. Hermes Kriophoros might without any absurdity precede the three Graces as goddesses of fertility. To suppose that he carried a ram when escorting the three goddesses to the Judgment would be manifestly ridiculous. The vase, however, is so Etruscan in style that any misunderstanding might easily occur. If the painter was copying, he must, I think, at any rate have had before him not a representation of the Judgment but of Hermes and the Graces, and one in which the original designer clearly intended to express this subject. Dr. Furtwängler explains as "Zug zum Parisurteil (?)" The undersized youth preceding Hermes I cannot for a moment suppose to be Paris, he is I think just a boy attendant.

JANE E. HARRISON.

THE EARLY IONIC ALPHABET.

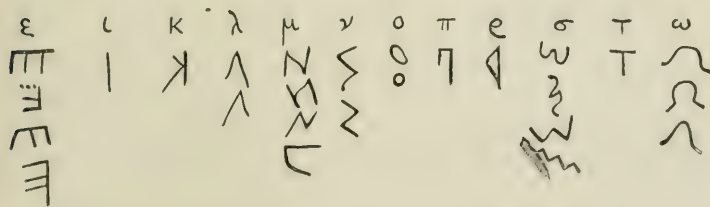
MR. PETRIE'S excavations at Naucratis, in the first season (1884-5), threw new light on many branches of classical archaeology: and a full share has fallen upon epigraphy. That science, indeed, has acquired new facts which not only form an important addition where additional evidence was most needed, but also necessitate a modification of certain theories which have hitherto been regarded as certain and fundamental. It is difficult, though not impossible, to reconstruct a portion of the foundations without injuring the edifice built thereon. But this attempt must be made, if we would neither ignore newly discovered material, nor allow its discovery to shake our confidence in the whole complicated structure of facts and theories that constitutes the science of epigraphy.

In the chapter on the inscriptions which was incorporated with Mr. Petrie's Memoir,¹ the present writer endeavoured to give to the earliest records of dedication their true interpretation, and to assign to them what seemed their due place in the history of the Greek alphabet. But, with another season's work in prospect, it appeared premature to do more than this, or to draw general conclusions which further discoveries might again modify. That second season is now over, and work on the site of Naucratis is, for the present at least, discontinued. Though we have discovered many more inscriptions, several of them of considerable interest and importance, there are none which approach in age those found before by Mr. Petrie, and published in the first Memoir. The early inscriptions already published must therefore stand alone; and there is no reason for further delay before

¹ *Naucratis*, Part I, published by order of the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

an attempt is made to estimate more carefully their importance, and to consider the changes they involve in our views as to the earliest adoption and use of the alphabet by people of Hellenic race.

The inscriptions now referred to all contain dedications to Apollo; they are incised with a sharp instrument upon very early pottery; and the forms of the letters are in every case perfectly distinct. Two of them, which were found at the bottom of a well in the temenos dedicated by the Milesians to Apollo, were upon soft red-brown ware, decorated with black bands. From the place where they were found no exact date can be inferred; but similar pottery was found elsewhere at Naukratis in positions where it must have been buried at least before the middle of the seventh century B.C.:¹ and this is a date which would well accord with the style of the ornamentation. Other very early inscriptions, though in some instances distinctly later than these, were found upon massive dishes of coarse drab-coloured ware. These dishes were buried near the bottom of a trench into which the refuse of the temple pottery was thrown, at a level assigned by Mr. Petrie to a date of 640—630 B.C.² The alphabet used in the earliest inscriptions is represented in a convenient form for reference in the space assigned to the first four classes on the table which forms Plate XXXV. of *Naukratis*, Part I, the Memoir already referred to. Its essential characteristics are here reproduced.



For the interpretation of the inscriptions themselves, and the consequent identification of the symbols above reproduced, I must refer to the chapter in which I have previously written about them.³ I cannot indeed expect that the conclusions there

¹ Petrie, *op. cit.* pp. 5, 19.

level 250 in. 600 B.C. approximately.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 19, 20. They occur at level 230 in. and level 220 in. is 650 B.C.,

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 54–61.

drawn will be accepted without due consideration ; but I venture to think that the weight of evidence in their favour is so strong as to overcome the hesitation which their strangeness must at first produce.

It is of importance to note that these early inscriptions were all found in the temenos dedicated by the Milesians to Apollo. Now the city of Naucratis existed long before the time of Amasis, who, as Herodotus tells us, gave it to the Greeks to live in ; but it was from the first a Greek colony ; and the Milesians, if not, as is probable, the first to found it, were at least among its earliest inhabitants. As the inscriptions all contain dedications to Apollo, in later examples expressly called the Milesian Apollo, it is natural to assign them to Miletus. We can go thus far pretty safely on what we may call external evidence only ; here we have inscriptions, dating from the middle of the seventh century B.C., and written in all probability by Milesian colonists. It remains for us to examine the forms of the letters themselves, and thence to gather what results we can for the science of epigraphy.

In the first place, we need not hesitate for a moment to which class of alphabets we must assign these inscriptions. They are unmistakably Ionic, as indeed we should have expected from the place where they were found, and the dedications they record. But if Ionic, then they are nearly, if not quite, a century earlier than any Ionic inscription that has hitherto been known. For the names and records cut upon the legs of the colossi at Abu Simbel must now not only give up their place, as the earliest monuments of the Ionic alphabet, but must even be left outside the connected series of Ionic inscriptions which we now possess : they, in fact, represent a local and quite distinct variety of the early Greek alphabet, and cannot properly be called Ionic at all. Abu Simbel has so long held its place that it seems almost to possess a right of prescription—a right which must, however, yield to new facts. But to these Abu Simbel inscriptions we shall have to recur ; at present, as has been said, they are altogether outside the question—just as much so as the alphabets of Thera, of Chalcis, or of Athens.

Bearing this in mind, we may now consider what new characteristics we meet with, how this earliest Ionic alphabet differs from the form which it assumed a century later, and

which ultimately became universal throughout the Hellenic world. For there is no essential difference between the inscriptions of Branchidae and the uncial Greek type in use at a printing office of to-day. But this previous century had produced important changes: already, however, in these the earliest records of Ionic writing that we possess, we find that the long and short *o* have been differentiated, that the *ω* is in full use. As to *η* unfortunately we have no evidence, nor as to the symbols for *φ*, *χ*, and *ψ*, usually regarded as typical of this alphabet; but *κ*, *λ*, *ο*, *π*, *ρ* and *τ* have already assumed the forms with which we are familiar, even *ι* is already a straight line, and preserves no trace of the characteristics of its Phoenician original. With *ε*, *μ*, *ν*, and *σ* the case is otherwise. Of these four letters the forms are entirely new to the student of epigraphy; and they are of the highest interest, since in every case they preserve resemblances to their Phoenician or other prototypes which have in all other extant examples completely disappeared. These then we will notice in order.

(1) *ε*. A glance at the table given above will show that while the ordinary early form of this letter, that identical with the Phoenician He, is found on the earliest inscriptions, another also occurs. This is turned round, with the points downwards, a position only before known at the turning point of *Βουστροφηγδόν* lines, where it is due to the mere accidental requirements of the writing. But here, in direct lines,¹ a different explanation must be sought. The hieratic Egyptian form found in the Papyrus Prisse, from which the Phoenician symbol is now by general consent derived, is absolutely identical with this Naucratic letter. In the scantiness of our records of early Phoenician forms two explanations are possible. Either we see here a modification due to local Egyptian influence—hardly likely at this date, when the forms from which the Phoenician alphabet was derived were perhaps already obsolete; or else, as is far more probable, the Greek has here faithfully preserved a form

¹ I have said nothing as to direction of writing. The earliest inscriptions of course run, as a rule, from right to left; but in one or two the direction is reversed. It is obvious that such accidental reversion is just what one might

expect in the use of a new and unfamiliar invention, as in a child just learning to print letters. One or two instances of *Βουστροφηγδόν* are distinctly later.

of the Phoenician symbol which does not happen to occur on any of the very few equally old or older Phoenician monuments that we possess. This is a hypothesis that will hardly seem untenable, when we remember that a few years ago early forms of some other Phoenician letters, samekh for instance, were preserved only in their Greek derivatives, though more recent discoveries have shown the same in Phoenician inscriptions; we can hardly yet hold that we are acquainted with all the local varieties of the Phoenician alphabet from which the Greeks can have borrowed. This Naucratic ϵ , then, not only adds a new form to the Greek alphabet, but also to the Phoenician its parent: and moreover it adds yet another link to the chain of evidence that joins the Phoenician with the hieratic Egyptian symbols.

(2) μ . The forms of this letter present a phenomenon strange indeed, but by no means inexplicable. To speak morphologically, they are the latest forms of μ that have yet been discovered; sometimes even all the strokes of the Phoenician prototype have been preserved in Greek; to this day four of them remain in our M : but in this Ionic form they are reduced to three. The reason is clear. The necessity of differentiation from ν and from san caused elsewhere the preservation of the extra strokes. Here, since those two other letters took the forms we see in the table, there was no danger of confusion; hence the μ at once and naturally sank to the easiest form in which it did not lose its distinct character. Thus its case is precisely analogous to that of the three-stroke σ , which we know in some cases—at Aegina and at Athens for instance—to have been earlier in actual date than the four-stroke form which undoubtedly precedes it in morphological development. In both cases the change to the fuller form must have been due either to external influence, or to the necessity of avoiding a confusion not before to be feared.

The third form given in the table closely resembles the Phoenician type, but as it, as well as the last form given under σ , occurs on a vase of somewhat later fabric, its importance must not be too highly estimated.

(3) ν . The forms of this letter are new, and to the Greek epigraphist somewhat surprising, but do not call for so much discussion, however great their importance. For a glance will show

that they are absolutely identical with the Phoenician original from which the Greek character is known to have been derived. Such resemblance is only what might be expected in a monument so much earlier, in its class, than any before known. It is instructive to note the influence upon other letters of a type like this. It is in no danger of being confused with μ , hence μ can lose its extra strokes and sink to the three-stroke form we actually find. But, on the other hand, if ν be as we here see it, σ cannot lose its fourth stroke without the risk of confusion: hence the four-stroke form must be preserved. Had ν continued to be placed in the position in which these Naucratic inscriptions present it, then we should to this day be printing and writing M with three strokes, and S with four.

The reason for the transformation to the ordinary form of ν is not easy to see: it is clearly an assimilation to μ which entailed as a necessary consequence the preservation of the fourth stroke of μ : but as μ has in these inscriptions already lost that stroke, we must regard this assimilating process as one which went on contemporaneously with but independently of the early alphabet which these inscriptions preserve to us. Many such phenomena cannot be explained except by the influence, conscious or unconscious, of one branch of the alphabet upon another.

(4) σ . The forms which are placed second and fourth upon the table under this letter are not new: they seem practically identical: similar characters occur at Abu Simbel (once only) and at Sparta. Their origin is by no means easy to explain, but as no light is thrown upon it by the mere fact of their occurrence at Naucratis, it will be better to pass on at once to the new forms we have before us. These, the first and third upon the table, are of high importance. If the vexed question of the origin of the Greek sibilants were not once for all set at rest by the abecedaria of Caere, Formello, and Colle, these forms alone would suffice to prove that it is the Greek sigma, and not san, which is, in form at least,¹ derived from the Phoenician shin. From this form, turned round later just as those of ϵ and

¹ The names of the sibilants are of course a difficulty: but as these discoveries throw no light on them, they are outside the scope of the present

paper. They at least can hardly be adduced as an argument against the view here adopted.

ν also were, came the four-stroke σ , which from its origin to the present day has remained the ordinary Ionic form.

In the original form of σ , just as in that of ν , we have a letter absolutely identical with its Phœnician prototype, whose connexion with the Greek has hitherto been a matter rather of inference than of proof by the evidence of facts.

Now that we have examined in detail the new forms which have been acquired, their relations to one another and to forms previously known, and the light which, individually treated, they throw upon the origin and history of the earliest Ionic alphabet, we are in a position to take a more general view of the questions they raise. What is the position of this earliest Ionic writing in the history of Greek epigraphy, and what is its relation to other known branches of the Hellenic alphabet? These are difficult questions, especially as a considerable modification of accepted theories is now necessary. But an attempt must be made to answer them: and first it will be well to briefly sketch, so far as they concern the questions before us, the theories hitherto held by the highest authorities: and to consider how far these theories are confirmed by our new evidence, or how far they must be modified so as to be brought into harmony with it.

It is hardly necessary for our present purpose to go back to the systems of Boeckh and Franz: for their theories, so far as still tenable, are of necessity incorporated in the work of all others who have since built upon the foundations which they were the first to lay. Even of the views of more recent epigraphists no complete account can or need here be given. It will suffice to select what seem the most typical, and to see how far they will help us in answering the questions we are endeavouring to solve.

M. Lenormant's¹ arrangement and elucidation of the various branches of the early Greek alphabet, which, as professedly a modified revival of that of Franz, may claim to be the oldest, is extremely clear and complete in appearance. But if we try to deduce from it any results that will be an aid in our present investigation, we are met by considerable difficulties. A primitive 'Cadmean' alphabet, such as he reconstructs, will not even account for all the forms supposed to be derived from it in the

¹ Daremberg and Saglio: art. 'Alphabèteum.'

branches already known and recognised, much less for those which occur on the earliest Naucratic inscriptions. All these derived forms cannot be deduced from one primitive Hellenic alphabet, unless indeed that alphabet be identical with the Phœnician. But then this 'Cadmean' alphabet becomes a mere abstraction, a name convenient perhaps for purposes of reference, but misleading if associated with any set of characters that were ever in actual use in inscriptions.

If we next turn to Prof. Mommsen's division, a similar difficulty meets us. His views are, indeed, propounded with the special aim of explaining the phenomena exhibited by the western branches of the Hellenic alphabet. But it is impossible to discuss a portion of this complicated problem without at least forming an opinion as to the whole; and hence we might hope to find some light thrown also upon the most easterly division. But the new facts do not, unfortunately, fall into their place in Prof. Mommsen's system. The Ionic alphabet, in its earliest form, cannot now be regarded as a later modification of the alphabet of twenty-three letters which we see in Thera and Melos, since it exhibits earlier forms of certain letters than any which are found upon those islands. Since, on the other hand, it already possesses ω , if no other of the additional letters, it cannot itself be taken as an early typical form of that alphabet of twenty-three letters; and moreover, though some of its forms are earlier, others are just as distinctly later in type than those found in Thera.¹ Hence it follows that no theory can be maintained which derives the one branch of the early Greek alphabet from the other.

With the great principle of Prof. Kirchhoff's system, the distinction between the eastern and western branches of the Greek alphabet, we are not here concerned, except to notice that the fundamental nature of that distinction is yet more emphasised by this extremely early appearance of some of the most characteristic peculiarities of the Ionic alphabet. But his history of the Ionic alphabet, in which he traces it back from its later form to what have till now been regarded as its earliest examples, is of the utmost importance to our present investigations. Now,

¹ Or perhaps it would be better to substitute for the expressions 'earlier' and 'later' in this discussion, 'closer to' and 'more remote from the Phœnician prototypes.'

however, we possess a far more complete set of examples than was before Prof. Kirchhoff when he wrote; for at Naucratis was found a set of dedications, in the ordinary forms of the Ionic alphabet, or with but slight deviations therefrom, which extends in an uninterrupted series from about 525 B.C. back nearly, if not quite, to the beginning of the sixth century. So far all is clear; we only add new matter to Prof. Kirchhoff's sketch; we need not on any essential point diverge from it. But when his next step backwards takes him to the Abu Simbel inscriptions, it is now no longer possible to follow him. We are therefore obliged for the present to leave them on one side, and to continue our way, still indicated by a few landmarks, back to these primitive Ionic records, which are as early as even the earliest date that has been assigned to the Abu Simbel inscriptions;—fully half a century earlier than the date which is claimed for those inscriptions by Prof. Wiedemann, and which, as we shall afterwards see, is almost certainly the true one. Now since these Naucratis inscriptions already possess the ω , we cannot derive the alphabet of the Abu Simbel inscriptions from that in which they are written; since, on the other hand, they have forms of ϵ , ν , and σ which are earlier not only than those found at Abu Simbel, but even than those used in Thera, they cannot exhibit later forms of the same alphabet we see at Abu Simbel. Hence in Prof. Kirchhoff's order of date, first Theraean, then Abu Simbel, then Ionic, it is impossible to find a place for these Naucratis inscriptions: for our necessary arrangement will be first Theraean and Ionic of Naucratis, the one exhibiting earlier forms of some letters, the other of others; then, after considerable interval of time, Abu Simbel. Of the derivative relations among them, if there be any, we must afterwards speak. At present it suffices to note that Prof. Kirchhoff's theories will not explain all the facts we have now before us, and that others must therefore still be sought.

Dr. Isaac Taylor's fundamental principle may be summed up in his own words: 'in palaeographic, no less than in linguistic or zoologic science, the laws of evolution are supreme, leaving no room for arbitrary invention or intention.'¹ And this principle has led him to throw out the only suggestion which is not at variance with the new facts; the suggestion that the Greek

¹ The Alphabet, II. 93.

alphabet in its various branches must in all probability be referred to various centres of Phoenician influence, to the colonies traditionally said to have been founded in Thebes, Corinth, and the Aegean islands.¹ But surely if we accept this theory of direct and more or less independent borrowing at various places, we must reject the old notion, repeated elsewhere by Dr. Taylor himself, of a 'comparatively definite and uniform'² alphabet during the first epoch, afterwards splitting into local varieties; unless indeed that 'comparatively definite and uniform' alphabet be the Phoenician itself. Moreover, however true at bottom this theory of evolution may be, however certainly it may save us from many improbable suppositions,³ a too scrupulous observance of it in detail may sometimes be misleading; surely many adaptations to their own use by peoples or individuals must have been the work of intention, though in accordance with general tendencies. And so, to pass to what more nearly concerns us now, the adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet to Greek use can hardly have been a matter of many centuries of unconscious change. I dwell upon this point here because it may appear necessary in some matters to suggest violations of the law of gradual evolution; and I would not be thought to do so without recognising its extreme importance, and assigning good reasons for any deviations that may occur.

We have now briefly passed in review the theories hitherto held by the highest authorities on Greek epigraphy, so far as they concern the questions we are trying to answer: we have seen what help they lend us towards the solution of those questions, and how far they are inconsistent with the new facts before us. Now that we have learnt what we can from the theories of others, we must return to our facts, and endeavour to meet in some way the problems to which they give rise.

The fundamental difference between all previous systems and that we must now adopt lies in the fact that we no longer recognise Abu Simbel as giving the typical form of the early Ionic alphabet. Then what are the Abu Simbel inscriptions?

¹ *Op. cit.* II. 68.

² *Ibid.* p. 63.

³ Such, for instance, as those of M.

Clermont Ganneau, deriving *F* from *ε*,
χ from *τ*, *φ* from *ϕ*, *ψ* from *υ*.

Till this is decided, we are not justified in setting them apart from our Ionic series.

The evidence in favour of the old view may be briefly stated as follows. No ω was known earlier than the middle of the sixth century. At Abu Simbel were inscriptions which, in every essential matter except the presence of ω , showed forms identical with those of the Ionic alphabet; these inscriptions were written by Ionians from Teos and Colophon, and Dorians from Rhodes, either about 590 B.C. or fifty years earlier.¹ The evidence that these inscriptions preserved the earliest known form of the Ionic alphabet naturally seemed complete; nothing could possibly controvert it except the discovery of the existence of ω at as early a date or an earlier one. Now this is precisely the discovery that has been made. Since then the conclusion is proved to have been wrong, there must be some flaw in the evidence. The inscriptions were written by Greek mercenaries, who all used the same alphabet—Ionians and Rhodians alike. Hence it was inferred that the Ionic alphabet had spread to Rhodes. This is just the inference that was not quite a certain one, and it has led to the mistake. But if the alphabet these Rhodian and other mercenaries used was not Ionic, the most natural supposition is that it was a local alphabet, allied indeed to the Ionic, but distinct from it. As to the Rhodian alphabet evidence is, unfortunately, extremely scanty,² but what there is can hardly disprove this view. Our Rhodians are thus easily accounted for. In the men from Teos and Colophon it must be confessed that a difficulty still remains. All that can be said is that this difficulty is easier to meet than those we must face upon any other supposition. It may be suggested as a probable solution that these Ionians were perhaps illiterate men, who could not write when they left home, and who learnt the use of the alphabet while on service from their Rhodian comrades. Since the true Ionic alphabet was already in use at Miletus and its colony Naucratis in 650 B.C., it is very improbable that it was not, when the Abu Simbel inscriptions were

¹ See below. I think the earlier date now excessively improbable, but insert it here lest I seem to assume what some epigraphists do not grant.

² Two vases found in Rhodian tombs are generally quoted; one with the

Argive alphabet, another with a semi-circular γ . But there is no necessity for them to represent the local alphabet at all. The evidence of coins only shows that the Ionic alphabet was in use in Rhodes in the fifth century.

written, also in force at Teos and Colophon.¹ If the view here adopted of the Abu Simbel inscriptions seem at all fanciful, it must be remembered that it is not an unfounded theory, but an attempt to explain and reconcile in some way actual facts that are now before us.

Before we leave these Abu Simbel inscriptions, it is worth while to note some evidence as to their actual date that has turned up at Naucratis. Near the bottom of the trench in the temenos of Apollo was found a vase with a frieze of animals of Rhodian type upon it; and near it also a Rhodian pinax, of similar style and fabric. These two were clearly almost, if not quite, contemporary, and their date could not be far removed from the beginning of the sixth century. On the vase was a dedication in Ionic characters, with four-stroke σ , χ , and ω . On the pinax was another dedication,² with three-stroke σ and \omicron for ω —in forms identical with the Abu Simbel inscriptions. Now since the inscription of the vase cannot probably, from its characters, be less than half a century later than the earliest Naucratis inscriptions, and again these earliest inscriptions cannot well be earlier than the time of Psammetichus I., or about 650 B.C., it follows that the inscription on the pinax, and with it those of Abu Simbel, cannot probably be placed before the beginning of the sixth century. Hence we must assign them to the reign of Psammetichus II., or about 590 B.C.

But it is time to leave these side issues—for we now see the discussion of the Abu Simbel inscriptions to be a side issue—and to return to the main course of the Ionic alphabet, which we must endeavour to trace from its origin to its perfect development. For the sake of clearness, it will be best to throw this constructive part of the present paper into the form of a direct historical narrative. But of course it must be acknowledged that many of the statements are merely con-
 jec-

¹ I am indebted to Prof. Ridgeway for the suggestion of another possible explanation. The fullest form of the Ionic alphabet, with all the non-Phœnician signs, may have been in the earliest period restricted to Naucratis, while in Asia Minor, perhaps even in Miletus itself, the less complete form may still have remained in use. This

suggestion does not affect the importance of the early alphabet found at Naucratis, since in any case it afterwards became universal.

² The difference between the alphabets used upon the two is of course due to the fact that the one was dedicated by a Milesian, the other by a Rhodian; and each used his own local characters.

tural, and that what is put down as fact may not be more than probable theory.

In the reign of Psammetichus I. a band of Milesians founded the colony of Naucratis,¹ probably about the middle of the seventh century, B.C. This new city could not, like most colonies, spread its rule over its barbarian neighbours, and become independent of its mother state. It must have served from the first as an emporium for trade between Miletus and Egypt; and the trade route was doubtless the same as that followed by the Naucratis Herostratus, who, as Athenaeus² tells us, was in the twenty-third Olympiad on a trading cruise with Naucratis as his ultimate destination, and touched at Cyprus on his way. There is no doubt that in the early days of Greek navigation the direct and open route would be less used than this past Cyprus. On that island the Milesian traders would meet not only its native inhabitants, but the Phoenician merchants who must constantly have come across their path, both near home and in their most distant voyages. Both Cypriotes and Phoenicians already possessed the art of writing. The usefulness of the Phoenician alphabet had indeed already been recognised by the Greeks of the Aegean islands, Thera and Naxos, perhaps also of Corinth, and of Chalcis, the maritime rival of Miletus. In all these various centres of early commerce the Phoenician invention was being adapted to the requirements of Hellenic speech: not indeed quite independently, for in their commercial or other intercourse each kept touch with the other, and there is a remarkable uniformity in the lines along which the adaptation was carried; yet in each place the forms of the letters were directly derived from their Phoenician originals. In no other way can the various early forms³ be explained which can find a common origin in nothing short of the Phoenician alphabet itself; perhaps even they go back to a type of that alphabet in some respects earlier

¹ Strabo's words (XVII. 1, 18) will bear this meaning, if we do not assume the Inaros he mentions to be identical with the 'Inaros son of Psammetichus' who lived two centuries later. May not the name Inaros have come in here merely by a confusion of associations?

² XV. 675. The date mentioned is

hardly possible. It is against tradition, probability, and the evidence of excavation that Naucratis existed before the time of Psammetichus I.

³ For instance, the Theraean κ and π , the Corinthian β and ϵ , the Chalcidian λ , the Naucratis ν and σ . It is impossible to refer these all to a primitive

in form, though not in date, than any extant monuments. It is not likely that the Milesians were much behind their rivals in the use of the alphabet. We can see, indeed, from the forms of some letters which are common to all alike, that they were not. But they were not content with the twenty-two Phoenician signs, and the ν which others had evolved from the F , and set at the end of their alphabet. They seem to have felt a need for the distinction of o and ω from the first; and the source whence they drew new symbols is not far to seek. Prof. Deecke has already shown the resemblance between the non-Phoenician signs of the Greek alphabet, ϕ , χ , ψ ,¹ and certain symbols that represented kindred sounds in the Cypriote syllabary. But at the time when he made this suggestion the antiquity of ω was not yet known, nor were the means by which the Cypriote influence was exercised so clear as they are in the case of the Ionians at Naucratis. These Milesian traders, constantly calling at Cyprus, cannot have failed to know something of the Cypriote syllabic writing: if their alphabet needed supplementary signs, this is undoubtedly the natural source from which they would draw them. Of ϕ , χ , ψ , Prof. Deecke has already written; to represent ω the Cypriote symbol for o could not well be used, as it was not of a character to suit the Greek type of letters: but the symbol resorted to was Λ , which stood for Ko , that is to say for o preceded by any guttural, as the transliteration of Greek words shows. This Cypriote Ko , often irregularly shaped,² is almost identical with the early forms of ω which we find on the Naucratis inscriptions of the most archaic classes.³ And it may be noted as a very strong argument against the common supposition that Ω is an arbitrary modification of O , that the resemblance of Ω to O is strongest in its later forms, while in

'Cadmean' alphabet; unless by Cadmean we mean Phoenician. For the Corinthian β and ϵ see Taylor, *Alph.* I. 103, 115. May we not infer similar forms in Phoenician, just as, were all Chalcidian, Boeotian, and early Attic inscriptions lost, we might infer L from Latin?

¹ See his popular account in Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I. 51. He adds ν , but as that letter is not distinctively Ionic, it is more probably an in-

dependent Greek invention: besides ν is just the one letter whose later Greek forms are nearer to the Cypriote than its earlier.

² See Deecke's table in Collitz, *Griechische Dialekt-Inschriften* I. One form of Ko identical with the later Greek Ω is given there, but with a query.

³ See the last form given on the table, page 221.

the most primitive forms we can find, no resemblance whatever between the two can be seen. This is precisely the opposite of what would be the case if the one letter were but a modified form of the other. This common view would hardly have gained such general acceptance, but that it was thought the invention of ω was not earlier than the middle of the sixth century, when foreign influence was improbable. Now that we know it is a whole century older, some such explanation as that which is here offered must in all probability be adopted. Whether ϕ , χ , and ψ were borrowed simultaneously with ω from the Cypriote syllabary is a question as to which no actual evidence can be produced. But it is most probable that they were. Their position in the alphabetic order is else inexplicable.¹

Thus we see that the Ionic alphabet, as used by the Milesians of Naucratis, already possessed its full complement of alphabetic symbols. When this fact is once realised, it is a comparatively easy task to trace its subsequent development and history; the difficulties we shall here meet only affect matters of detail, and can in almost all cases admit of simple explanations. There are only two letters whose forms call for any individual notice: these are η and σ . When the first of these originated, that is to say, when the symbol for the spiritus asper was no longer felt to be necessary, and in consequence was used to meet another want, and to denote η , cannot as yet be finally decided. This change was not necessarily contemporary in all cases with the adoption of a separate symbol for ω ; at Abu Simbel we find the Rhodians used a separate symbol for η , and not for ω ; while in Thera ω seems to have been distinguished before η . All that can be asserted is that η is in use by about 600 B.C. at Naucratis, as elsewhere among Greek peoples.

With σ the case is different. We have seen the four-stroke form, though in a peculiar position, on the earliest inscriptions. From the earliest to the latest of our continuous series of dedications which present the typical forms of the Ionic alphabet, this four-stroke form, ξ , is always the normal one. But there are exceptions; a three-stroke form, ζ , is occasionally

¹ Of course they might, from this indication, have been borrowed earlier; but not later.

found; but not by any means upon the earliest specimens. If, indeed, it is possible to establish a chronological relation at all between the two, it seems that the four-stroke form is the earlier even in time; it undoubtedly is so morphologically. But the difference may be local rather than temporal. The fact is that the relations of the complete and the curtailed form¹ are often misapprehended. They seem sometimes to be used indiscriminately; but I doubt if it can be shown that the three-stroke form was in any branch of the alphabet older in regular usage than that with four strokes;—except, indeed, in cases where the intrusion of the latter was due to the spreading influence of the Ionic alphabet just before its universal adoption. Many instances, which upon tables compiled for convenient reference seem to controvert this statement, will be found to disappear entirely if the sources² from which they are drawn be carefully investigated. But for the analogy of the Abu Simbel inscriptions, formerly regarded as the earlier form of the Ionic alphabet, so (literally) preposterous a theory as this, that the later form generally preceded the earlier,³ could never have gained so wide an acceptance.

We have now traced the stages by which the Ionic alphabet proceeded from its origin to its perfect development, to the form in which it was adopted by all the Hellenic peoples, and in which it is actually used to the present day. But it is impossible to modify the history of one branch of the Hellenic alphabet without touching on matters which affect the development of others. We must, therefore, in conclusion, take a brief and general review of these, as far as their relations with the Ionic alphabet and with one another are concerned.

We need not here discuss the individual characteristics of the other early Greek alphabets: we have already noticed that each of them possesses forms which they cannot have borrowed from one another, or indeed, from any source but the Phœnician

¹ Or is the four-stroke form derived from shin, the three-stroke one from tsade? A suggestion confirmed by the form occupying the place of tsade in the abecedarium of Caere.

² At Argos, for instance, the three-stroke form rests only on the evidence of Fourmont, the notorious forger of

inscriptions. In the very rare cases when ζ occurs earlier than ξ , both may have been in use together from the first.

³ The true relation of the two is pointed out by Mommsen, *Unterit. Dial.* 5.

itself. Thus they and the Ionic seem all to have arisen more or less independently, and to have continued for a considerable period their separate development. In this development various tendencies were exhibited; that, for instance, to distinguish long and short *o* gave rise to various confusing forms; here probably really differentiated from *o*,¹ which the new symbols always resemble: though in some cases the Ionic symbol was borrowed and the Ionic usage reversed ($\Omega = o$, $o = \omega$, Paros, Siphnos, Thasos). But these are matters of detail. The first great and important influence that the Ionic alphabet exercised upon its less fully equipped neighbours concerned the representation of double consonants, whether compounded with *h* or with *\sigma*. The symbol for *\theta* seems to have been a common heritage of all, but the sounds afterwards represented by ϕ , $+$, Ψ ² were in the earliest times denoted in writing by two separate symbols. At what time the Ionic symbols for these letters were generally adopted cannot be definitely stated; but it certainly was a very early change, probably not much later than their first use by the Ionians themselves. Here, however, a very singular phenomenon meets us. Most of the eastern Greeks borrowed the Ionic symbols, ϕ , $+$, Ψ , and used them just as the Ionians had done. But certain peoples of the mainland of Greece, of Euboea, and of the Chalcidian colonies, those, in short, whom Prof. Kirchhoff assigns to his western division, use these symbols, but in the order $+$, ϕ , Ψ , and with the signification ξ , ϕ , χ . This is a fact that has never yet been satisfactorily explained: Dr. Taylor has even been driven by it into the supposition that the symbols are of quite different origin, and that their resemblance in the two cases is a mere coincidence. But perhaps a less improbable explanation is possible: and the clue to it may be obtained by carefully observing the order of the symbols, as preserved to us by the abecedaria found on vases at Caere and Formello. It is a recognised rule, to which there are few exceptions,³ that the symbols of any one alphabet borrowed at one time from any other alphabet

¹ A dot was placed in the middle for ω (Thera), or half the symbol was used for *o*, the whole for ω (Melos).

² ξ must also have been a common inheritance, but it was not at first

adapted to its later use.

³ Unless of course, as in Arabic and Sanskrit, the alphabet has been entirely rearranged on new principles.

invariably preserve the order they held in that other alphabet; and that new symbols, whether produced by independent differentiation or by fresh borrowing, are placed at the end in the alphabetic order, or next to the symbol from which they originated, as our J, V, W. But this is only possible when the symbols are not also used as numerals in their alphabetic order. If we apply this rule to the last symbols of the western alphabet, \div , ϕ , ψ , we see at once that they cannot be derived from the Ionian ϕ , \div , ψ . If we take the last two letters only, ϕ , ψ , there is no objection to meet as regards order. Hence \div must have been there before. Now this \div is used with the signification of ξ , but in these western alphabets the alphabetic place of the Phoenician samekh and the Greek ξ is filled by a symbol evidently borrowed from the Phoenicians, but for practical purposes disused, \boxplus .¹ Evidently what had happened here is the same as what we find in the case of F and v . The Phoenician symbol is borrowed, and falls into practical disuse; but a secondary symbol evolved from it is placed at the end of the alphabet, and continues to hold its place in writing. So \boxplus survived as a symbol only, but \div , its simplified form,² continued to live and to represent the sound ξ . And the new form \div was naturally placed at the end of the alphabet. Now when the western Greeks, already possessing this symbol, came to borrow from the Ionians ϕ , \div , ψ , they could not adopt the \div , simply because it was identical with the symbol they already possessed and used to denote ξ . But the other two they borrowed, and put after their \div at the end of their alphabet; ϕ they retained in its original form; but for the guttural aspirate they needed a sign far more than for the combination $\pi\sigma$,³ and accordingly they made the other new symbol, ψ , serve to denote that sound.

Against the view here proposed two chief objections may be brought forward. The first is that it is contrary to analogy for a distinct symbol for ξ to be in use before the aspirates ϕ and χ . But it is clear that the symbol used for ξ belongs to the alphabet as originally borrowed from the Phoenicians: hence its

¹ It is true that this form is not known in Phoenician; but the various forms derived from it seem to imply

that such must have been the original form.

² So Taylor, II. 77.

³ or $\phi\sigma$.

adaptation to use, since it already existed, may be regarded as not impossible. The second objection is a more serious one: to derive the symbol used for χ in one alphabet from that used for ψ in another is to violate the phonetic law almost always observable in alphabetic transmissions; the law, that is, that a letter is derived only from a letter that denotes a kindred sound. But a violation of this law can perhaps be justified by analogy: the symbol H, for instance, when no longer required for the aspirate, came to be used for η ; ¹ surely this is just as arbitrary an adaptation. The theory just suggested cannot, however, be regarded as certain; it may be confirmed or refuted by new facts: in any case it is an attempt to solve a problem of which no previous solution can be asserted to be free from grave difficulties.

This discussion of remote details has, however, led us somewhat away from our subject, the early history of the Ionic alphabet. Nor does the accuracy of that history, as we have tried to sketch it, depend on details such as these. If the facts from which we started are correct—and I think they are not without good foundation—it is hardly possible to escape the main conclusions that we have reached. And these alone are enough to throw a flood of new light on the obscure beginnings of the Hellenic alphabet, and to correct many erroneous opinions that have hitherto been held as to its origin and development.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

¹ Mr. E. S. Roberts, to whom I am indebted for kind permission to make use of the materials he has collected, suggests that there may be here

also a similarity of sound, as is indicated by the fluctuations of early usage. It is hard to find a more certain instance.

NOTE.—Since none of the old classifications of the earliest Greek alphabets appeared completely adequate, in view of the new facts now before us and the conclusions drawn therefrom, it may seem desirable that some new classification should be suggested. To completely arrange and discuss the Greek

alphabets is of course out of the question here. But the following suggestion may be useful. The two earliest alphabets are the Theraean and the Ionic; next come the Corinthian and the Chalcidian, partly dependent on the other two, partly independent. From these four I think it will be found possible to derive all known forms of writing among the Greeks.

E. A. G.

NOTES ON THE COLLECTION OF ANCIENT MARBLES
IN THE
POSSESSION OF SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.

[PLATES LXXI. AND C.]

I HAVE been asked to add a few notes on the collection of ancient monuments of which specimens are published on Plates LXXI. and C. These marbles were formerly in the possession of Mr. George McLeay, who, while residing in India, deposited them in the South Kensington Museum, where Professor Michaelis saw them. Most of them have already been described by Michaelis in his *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* pp. 481 *seq.* Mr. McLeay had a house at Smyrna, and it was in Asia Minor, chiefly at Smyrna and in its neighbourhood, that he collected his antiquities. They have since been presented by him to Sir Charles Nicholson, who has placed them in his house, The Grange, Totteridge, Hertfordshire.

Most of these monuments belong to the Roman period of Greek art in Asia Minor. There can be no doubt that the interest attaching to such works will grow with the development and systematisation of the study of archaeology. For we may reasonably hope that, as our power to fix in time and to distinguish with accuracy the broader characteristic points of distinction between Greek and Græco-Roman art grows, we shall not halt at this stage, but shall advance still further in successful endeavours to establish more detailed distinctions of time and even locality within these broader divisions.

Even at this moment it is possible to produce numbers of monuments of the Roman period, Roman in subject and in

treatment, which are known to come from different places, from Rome itself, from the South of Italy, from Greece Proper, or from Asia Minor. And the time may soon have arrived when (to take a definite instance) it may lead to instructive results to compare with conscientious exactness instances of the same Roman portrait statue as presented to us in the definite localities of Rome, Greece Proper, Asia Minor, &c., &c. Of course the question will then have to be considered and weighed, how far Greek artists worked for the foreign markets, whether they settled in the place where their goods were in demand, whether and how far Greek artists transplanted to foreign countries the hereditary name and craft. Their own idiosyncrasies might in the latter case be considerably modified by the customs, taste, and needs of the community in which they lived. Nay, when art became art-manufacture (as it did become to a certain degree in these later periods), the work might become modified by the characteristic demands of its place of destination, just as, in a far earlier period, it appears to me, the Cypriote works received their hybrid character from the action of such influences.

Such and similar questions will have to be considered; but even these questions will be more readily answered if such a careful grouping of monuments the origin of which is fully established is carried out, and they are subjected to accurate comparative study.

I. Plate LXXI, 1.—The first work is of great interest; it has not been exhibited at South Kensington, and has neither been described nor figured. The statue is of marble, and measures from knee to head 4 ft. 9½ in. There are wanting—both legs below the knee, both hands, and the point of the nose. A piece is also chipped out of the upper portion of the left arm. The head was detached from the neck, and has recently been fitted to the statue; but it undoubtedly belonged to the statue, as it not only is of the same marble and in a similar state of corrosion, but a continuous groove has been formed by running or trickling water on the top of the head, on the right side of the statue, which runs down the right side of the face, and continues at the neck and over the chest in an unbroken line. The whole surface of the statue has been much damaged by the wear of weather, especially the continuous dropping of water. This furlrowing up of the surface is to be seen on all sides. There is

but one limited surface on the small of the back where the marble retains something of its original smoothness. Even the *nates* are thus affected on all sides. The water must thus have run over the statue on all sides, and it appears therefore to have stood unprotected in the open air. It is difficult to understand how the small receding portion in the back should have escaped; and this is not explained by assuming that it lay on its back. Two holes on the back near the left shoulder, one oblong and large, the other round and smaller, evidently served to fix it against some background, perhaps the *tympanon* of a pediment; and this would point to its being a pedimental figure. But it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion on this point, which presents fewer fixed data than the Aegina Marbles, concerning the corrosion of which such difference of opinion still exists.

The pose of the statue illustrates the type of Hermes as presented in the famous Hermes of Andros in the Patissia Museum (Athens), the Hermes in the Belvidere of the Vatican, and the Hermes from the Farnese Collection, now in the British Museum. A similar statue also exists at Munich.¹ As in all these statues so in ours, the youthful figure rests upon the right leg, and the right hip is thus thrust outwards. The right hand is pressed on the right hip. The head is slightly lowered and turned towards the right shoulder, which is also lowered. The figure is nude; but the chlamys is carried so that the one end hangs over the left shoulder and the breast, and, passing down the back, is wound round the left fore-arm, and then hangs to the ground. The figure probably held the caduceus in the left hand, as is the case in the Farnese replica.

Let us first consider the three well-known statues of Hermes to which ours corresponds fully: the Hermes of Andros, the Hermes of the Belvidere, and the Hermes Farnese. They no doubt all go back to an original prototype, the earliest of which we find in the famous Hermes carrying the infant Dionysos, by Praxiteles, discovered at Olympia. But there can be no doubt that the type has in them become considerably modified, both in the attributes and attitude, as well as in style. These three statues are later than Lysippus, and the head has undergone changes in the Lysippian direction. It

¹ Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, &c., vol. iv., Pl. 659, 1523.

has become shorter and rounder. The hair is not blocked out in the same way as in the Praxitelean statue, but has become more distinctly modelled in curved masses. Whereas in the *Hermes* of Praxiteles it is more specifically of the marble technical treatment, it has in these modified replicas, as it were, passed through the bronze technique, which is here reproduced in the marble, and this treatment characterises the heads of other statues ascribed to Lysippus, such as the *Apoxyomenos* and the *Ares Ludovisi*. This is more pronouncedly the case in the *Farnese* and *Belvidere* replicas than in the *Hermes* of Andros. They are nearer the immediate Lysippian type, represented by the *Ares Ludovisi*, than the head of the *Hermes* of Andros. The head from Andros has, in general, more of that expression of dreamy sentiment which we find in the *Hermes* of Praxiteles—the lips are closed; while in the other heads the general expression of dreaminess has given way to one of more decision, and the lips are parted, as in the Lysippian head of *Ares*. As regards the modelling of the body also, the *Hermes* of Andros is softer and less mechanical than in the other replicas. The latter are Roman in character, whereas the statue of Andros is more Greek in the working; it shows less of the very manifest mastery over, and reliance upon, the skilful use of tools which we perceive in even the most perfect specimens of works of Roman origin. As a slight but characteristic instance of this, I would but point to the circular incisions in the umbilical region, and at either breast. In the two Roman (especially the *Belvidere*) replicas, they are, as it were, drawn and incised as with compasses, perfectly and accurately round and unbroken. In the *Hermes* of Andros, and in the Praxitelean statue, this is not so to the same degree: we have more traces of hand-work, in a certain ungeometrical irregularity.

These peculiarities of the Greek statues, as far as the treatment of the body is concerned, are also to be found in our replica from Asia Minor. Only, in addition to these, we find a greater insistence upon a more realistic indication of the muscles, which points to a more conscious study of the living model and of the anatomy of the human figure. This can be best appreciated in examining the treatment of the right arm, where all the individual muscles are indicated, the

work being almost too much elaborated in detail. This looks as if all the replicas had passed through the influence of Lysippus, and as if this statue had, in addition, passed through that of the schools of Pergamon and Rhodes, and the stamp of these Asiatic schools had been impressed upon it.

Finally, the head of this statue differs from all the other heads in that it is much more individual, in fact, is iconic. The upper part of the face is comparatively much broader than the rest, the cheek-bones protruding, and this appearance is increased by the comparative sharpness of the chin. The mouth is small, the lower lip is very full and has a curious pouting thickness in the central portion. A further peculiarity is the treatment of the hair, which has, on the whole, been so much abraded that it can hardly be distinguished. But there remain clear indications of the fringe above the forehead, which resembles a succession of small points like the teeth of a dog or fox. This fringe we find in the head of the Hermes Logios, the so-called Germanicus, of the Louvre, which, according to the inscription, is the work of Kleomenes, the son of Kleomenes, who is probably¹ the same Kleomenes as the one mentioned by Pliny,² the sculptor of the statues of Thespiadae ordered by Pollio Asinius. I think it right to point to this similarity in the working of the hair; though I cannot at present see what relation our statue holds to this work of Kleomenes.

This statue thus appears to me to go back ultimately to the original type of the Hermes found in the famous work of Praxiteles at Olympia, which became in the course of time modified by Lysippian elements, and it is probably the work of an artist following those of that period of revival of Neo-Attic, Neo-Hellenic, or Hellenistic art which, according to Pliny³ began to thrive in the 156th Olympiad (B.C. 156-3). But there are in it traces of elements which distinguish the chief schools of Asia Minor (Pergamon and Rhodes), so that we must assign it to a period of the growing Roman influence, but to the home in which the statue itself was found, namely, Asia Minor.

To clench what has been said, I would introduce a very important monument into this series of statues of Hermes. This

¹ Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Plast.*, ii. p. 379.

² *N.H.* xxxvi. 33.

³ *N.H.* xxxiv. 51.

work has been discovered at Delos by the French excavators, and is described and published by M. Homolle.¹ The statue is that of a Roman, Caius Ofellius Fervus, in the form of Hermes, and no doubt (as other similar statues found on the same site show) had a portrait head of the Roman. The inscription on the base of this statue, published by M. Homolle, tells us that it is a work by Dionysios, the son of Timarchides, and Timarchides, the son of Polykles. It has been shown by M. Homolle (and this bears out the ingenious hypothesis of Brunn, made many years previous to the discovery of this statue and this inscription), that Timarchides and Dionysios, here mentioned, are cousins, and that Dionysios joined his father Timarchides and his uncle Polykles, who all three are reported by Pliny² as having been fellow-workers at the Porticus erected by Metellus in the year 146 B.C. Furthermore, one of these artists, Polykles, is mentioned by Pliny³ with Timokles, who again is mentioned in passages by Pausanias⁴ as being, together with Timarchides, the son of Polykles. In the passage of Pliny the artists are mentioned among those who signal a revival of art at Rome, where it languished before, in the 156th Olympiad, *i.e.* 156–3 B.C.; and Brunn has justly pointed to this particular date assigned by Pliny as the time when Metellus Macedonicus invited the Greek artists to Rome to decorate the Porticus. Moreover, M. Homolle shows that from inscriptions at Delos these works are fixed between the years 190–167 B.C., and that the date of this statue is probably nearer the year 167.

Overbeck has first pointed to the fact that this Hermes-Ofellius is a modified replica of the Hermes of Praxiteles. And when we study the whole series of these works it becomes in a most interesting manner evident that this statue is the link between the Praxitelean type of Hermes and the group of the other statues of Hermes mentioned above. The whole pose is much nearer to the Hermes of Praxiteles than are the other statues: and the right arm, which is lowered to the hip in the others, is here raised as in the Praxitelean work. But in this work from Delos we have the first step towards a modified arrangement of the chlamys in the direction of the Hermes of

¹ *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellen.* 1881, v. p. 390, pl. 12.

² *Ib.* xxxiv. 51, 91.

³ Paus. vi. 4, 5; 12, 9; x. 34, 6, 8.

⁴ *N.H.* xxxvi. 35.

Andros; the end, namely, hangs over the left shoulder, and it is partly wound round the fore-arm. But it retains more of the massing of the drapery as it hangs down by the fore-arm, and of the peculiar treatment of folds which characterises the remarkable drapery passing under the infant Dionysos, and hanging over the tree-stem, in the Praxitelean work. It is exactly the intermediary stage between the fourth century prototype and the later Roman modifications. Moreover, this work corresponds to our own statue from Asia Minor, in that it had a Roman portrait head added to the body of the Hermes. It is perhaps also well to remember that in connexion with this revival of Greek art at Rome about the year 145 B.C. we have mention of the custom of borrowing types from earlier Greek works, nay, of copying parts of such works. So Pausanias tells us that two of these very artists (Timokles and Timarchides) copied the shield of the Athene Parthenos by Pheidias in their statue of a warlike Athene at Elateia.¹ We thus have an interesting series:—First the Hermes with the infant Dionysos of Olympia by Praxiteles about the middle of the fourth century B.C. Then a work from about the year 167 B.C. by Dionysios and Timarchides, a Greek work of the early Roman period which marks the transition to still more modified types of the Roman period, one from Greece (Andros), another from Asia Minor, the others more Roman in character, found on the site of Rome, and probably the work of Greek artists there resident.

II. Plate LXXI, 2.—The next important work in this collection is that of a headless marble statue of a draped female figure, found in the same district. It appears to me that Michaelis, who describes the statue (No. 1 in his list) in the following terms, and who couples it with the figure immediately following it, has under-estimated its merits:—

Statue of a female, in long chiton, and over it the cloak, which covers the head and the whole body as far as below the knees. The treatment and fall of the folds resemble those in the terra-cotta figure, Clarac, v. 890 B, 2267 F, only the cloak is not thrown back over the l. shoulder, but covers the l. breast and thence falls down. The lowered l. arm is quite covered in the cloak, the upper part of the r. arm is likewise lowered, the fore-arm is missing, as is also the head. The figure rests on the r. leg, on the outside of the shin is a

¹ Paus. x. 34, 7.

square *puntello* which suggests an attribute (torch?) or some other accessory. H. abt. 1·70. Cf. the remark on no. 2.

To this description I should like to add, that the left hand, which is broken away, rested below the left breast, and that the point of a finger remains quite uninjured at a fold of the himation. The modelling of the drapery is unequal; somewhat coarse in the chiton as it covers the foot, but of great beauty in portions of the modelling of the outer garment. Throughout, the indication of texture, both in the drapery and in what remains of the nude about the neck, is of good work. The keen sense for texture, and the careful elaboration of the drapery in the outer garment, is manifested in a point of detail, in that the massing of folds in the under-garment, where it is drawn over the girdle, is indicated on the surface of the outer garment, on the side where this covers the chiton, by very delicate waves that can hardly be called folds. The whole composition of the figure, and the moderation in the treatment of the drapery, show a nobility which characterises Greek, in contradistinction to Roman, workmanship. This will be appreciated the more when this work is compared with the statues of Vestal virgins recently exhumed at Rome at the Temple of Vesta, to which our statue bears a strong resemblance (it was probably the statue of a priestess with the outer garment passing over the head). In comparison with these Graeco-Roman works, our statue is again more Hellenic in character, and thus stands nearer to a type of the fourth century Greek art from which all these works may have been derived, namely, the statue of Artemisia surmounting the mausoleum of Halicarnassus. Hence its relation to the earlier Greek prototype and the later Roman works would be similar to that just established with regard to the *Hermes* before described; its *provenance* also being the same. I hear that this work was found surmounting a Mahometan grave on the road between Sardis and Magnesia, nearer Sardis.

III. The other draped female figure is far inferior. Michaelis says of it:—

Statue of a female, in doubled chiton and over it a cloak, completely corresponding to four of the statues of the Loggia de' Lanzi in Florence (Cavalieri, *Antiq. stat. l. I. et II.* Pl. 81; cf. Clarac, iv. 767, 1894; v. 978 B, 2524 F). She rests on the r. leg. Missing:

head, r. arm, l. fore-arm with the folds of the drapery below it. H. abt. 1·70. Both the statues, nos. 1 and 2, stand on low irregularly shaped plinths. They are very slender in their proportions, slim in the upper part of the body, becoming broader below, with not quite common motives of drapery. Ordinary execution. They are exact counterparts of the statues at Oxford, nos. 1—9 (cf. Oxford, after no. 9).

Since Michaelis saw the statue, a head which belonged to the collection has been added. This head does certainly not belong to the statue, and ought to be removed. It is an interesting head, though the hair is inferior, modelled in "corded" ridges. The face, especially the modelling about the eyes, is of great softness, and reminds us of the Aphrodite of Melos. The statue itself is, it appears to me, of a later date than the preceding one, more Roman in character, and, as has been said, in every way inferior.

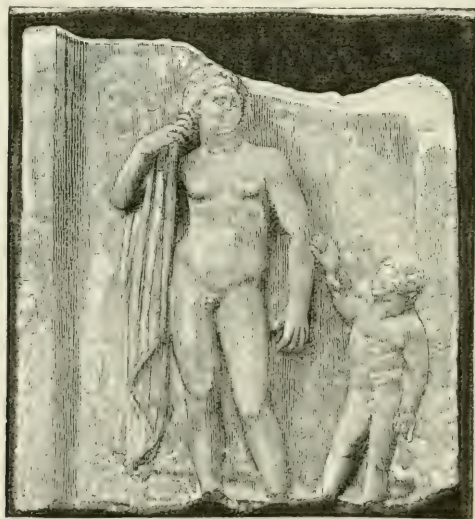


FIG. 1.

IV. Fig. 1.—The fragment of a sepulchral relief, described by Michaelis as No. 16, is not of marble, but of terra-cotta. He says of it :—

Fragment of a sepulchral relief, broken both at top and bottom. On the l. stands a youth, full face, almost nude, holding the chlamys on the r. shoulder with r. hand, the l. lowered. Beside him a nude



boy, who turns up his face and r. hand to him; in the lowered l. hand he holds the strigil (στραγγίς) and the alabastron. Lively execution. H. 0·32. L. 0·30. From Smyrna.

This interesting terra-cotta relief must be compared with the unfinished Greek relief of the fourth century found at the Dipylon at Athens, and now in the Patissia Museum; it is described and figured by M. Pottier.¹ The Athenian relief represents a victorious athlete standing nude, and with his up-raised right hand placing the victor's wreath on his brow, while in his left hand he holds a palm-branch. The similarity in the type of the body and in the attitude is so striking that it is hard not to believe in a more or less immediate dependence.

V. Plate C, 1.—*Relief*. On a field surrounded by a frame there sits enthroned in the middle, *Zeus*, turned l., his legs covered by his cloak, the l. hand high up on the sceptre, the r., perhaps with a cup, on the thigh. To the l. before him stands, very nearly in full face, a noble *female figure* in chiton and cloak, with a long sceptre on her r. arm, the l. hand lowered; a high ornament on the head (*modius*?) may designate her as *Hera* or *Demeter*, or again as the tutelary goddess of a town. Behind the throne of *Zeus* stands *Anubis*, with the head of a dog, draped in a *chlamys*. Very coarse and much abraded. Below the relief a large empty space. H. 0·65. L. 0·36. From Erythrae.

To this description I should merely like to add that the ornament on the head of the female figure seems a *modius*, but has also the appearance of horns; still it seems to represent a deity of a town, and this will be confirmed when we compare it with the relief from the base of a statue of *Tiberius* found at Puteoli (Puzzuoli) in 1840, which contains in *alto rilievo* fourteen figures of towns of Asia Minor with their respective names inscribed below them,² of the figures of Sardis, Magnesia, Philadelphia, Kyme, Myrina, Apolloneia, and Aegae, have ornaments on their heads corresponding to the traces on the head of the figure in question.

Concerning the other works in this collection we can but repeat the remarks of Michaelis in his own words:—

Group of Ganymedes and the eagle. The youth, nude except for a Phrygian cap and boots, stands with l. knee bent by a pillar which is partly covered by his *chlamys*; the outstretched l. arm lies on the

¹ *Bullet. d. Corresp. Hellen.* v. p. 65, pl. 3.

² Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Pl.* ii. p. 435.

pillar; of the lowered r. arm with the pedum only remnants are preserved. Ganymedes looks up at the eagle, which sits above his l. arm on the pillar (cf. *Monum. dell' Inst.*, 1856, Pl. 18). The pose of Ganymedes is somewhat stiff and affected. The whole group is backed with a pillar, and was therefore most probably meant for architectural decoration (cf. Cambridge, no. 4, Wilton, no. 144); the moderate execution falls in with this view. H. 0·76.

Statue of Pan. The god stands by a tree on which hangs the syrinx. A leather apron full of fruit hangs slantwise from the r. shoulder; in the l. arm he holds a pruning-knife (blade missing). These attributes remind one of Silvanus. Head of unpleasantly brutish expression. Goat's legs. Lowered r. arm and part of l. leg below the knee missing. Late, ordinary Roman work. H. 1·01.

Eight heads, of bad, late workmanship, and rather damaged; from Smyrna, Rhodes, &c. The following may be particularly mentioned: a head over life-size, perhaps of *Zeus*, though of a gloomy aspect, which suggests Pluto rather than Zeus; a head of *Herakles* with curly hair and beard; a pretty good *female head*.

Plate C, 2.—*Votive relief*, flanked by two antae which carry an entablature furnished with roofing tiles. On the l. stands a youth in chlamys beside a horse; before him, in about the middle of the relief, stands a female figure, in chiton, the l. arm and the lower part of the body enveloped in cloak, offering the youth a cup. Both figures are on a much larger scale than those at the r. end of the scene: a male and two female figures, and in the foreground three children (apparently two boys and a girl). These six persons approach in adoration; before them a boy, quite small, leads a ram to the altar which stands between the two principal personages. The relief is moderately low and reminds us of Attic reliefs. H. 0·41. L. 0·56. From Smyrna.

Sepulchral stone of Sandioklos, broken into two fragments. On the r. sits a female figure completely veiled (head missing). In the background a tree, entwined by a snake. To the l. stands in full face the deceased, a bearded man, in cloak, the l. hand lowered, the r. before the breast; for his somewhat self-conscious attitude cf. Oxford, no. 89. By him a diminutive attendant, with crossed legs, the head supported on the l. hand. Below, the inscription, in characters indicating the Roman period: χαῖρε Σαρδίοκλε. (For the name cf. Σαρδίωρ, the Σάνδιος λόφος near Myus, Thuk. 3, 19, Σαρδώκης of Kymè, Her. 7, 194.) Rather high relief. H. abt. 0·60. L. 0·44.

Relief in a frame. A man in a very short chiton and with boots, flourishing a whip in his r. hand and holding out a cloth in his l., advances against a tiger which springs at him from the r. Coarse stone. H. 0·51. L. 0·66. From the amphitheatre at Pergamon.

THE WORKS OF PERGAMON AND THEIR INFLUENCE.

THE questions concerning the art of Pergamon, its characteristics and later influence, depend partly for their solution on the reconstruction and explanation of the fragments in Berlin. Much progress has been made in the work during the last year. The discovery which decided what was the breadth of the staircase, and what were the figures which adorned the left wing and the left staircase wall, has been already mentioned in the *Hellenic Journal*.¹ It is now officially stated that the staircase was on the west side of the altar, although Bohn, in his survey of the site, at first conceived that this was impossible. Assuming that this point is now settled, we may note what is certain, or probable, or what is merely conjectural, in the placing of the groups. We know that the wing on the left of the staircase, and the left staircase-wall, were occupied by the deities of the sea and their antagonists: by Triton, Amphitrite, Nereus, and others which we cannot name. Among them, also, we may perhaps discern the figure of Hephaestos, and in their vicinity we must suppose Poseidon. On the right wing of the staircase, and around the south-west corner, we have good reason for placing Dionysos, with Cybele and her attendant goddesses, although the order of the slabs on which these latter are found is not the same as was formerly supposed. There can be little doubt that the south-east corner was filled with the forms of the goddesses of the nether world, of Hekate and the goddesses akin to her—among whom are Demeter and Persephone,² if I

¹ Vol. vi. No. 1, p. 140.

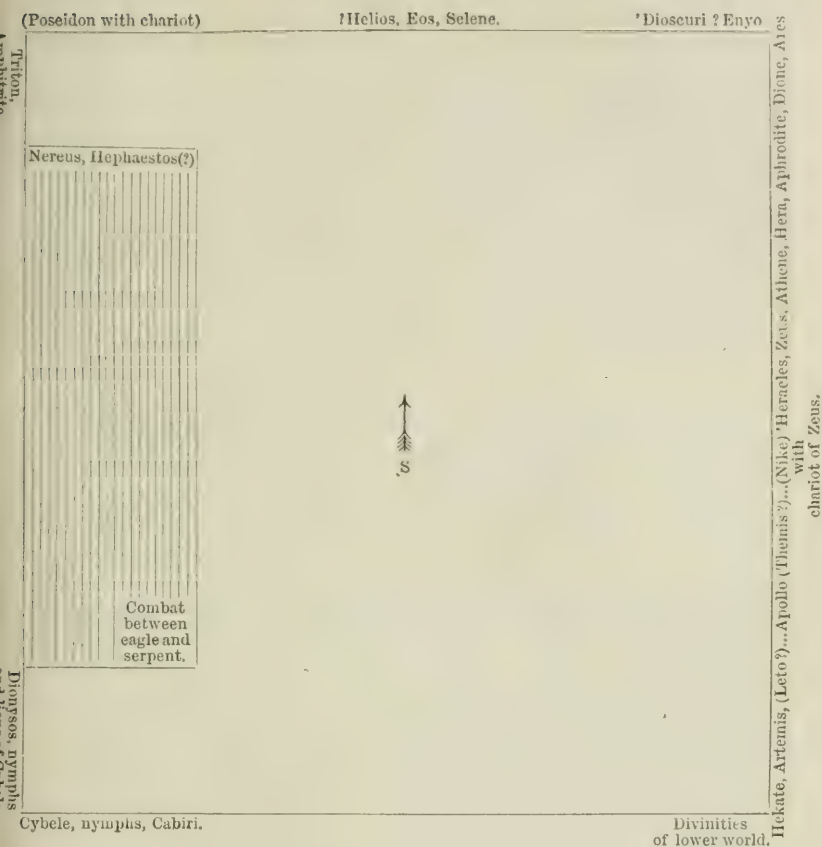
² Vide *Hellenic Journal*, vol. vi. No. 1, pp. 106–108. The small fragment on which is found the inscription ΣΑΤΤΡΟΙ

was discovered on the west side; which accords with the position now assigned for Dionysos.

have rightly interpreted the figures of the group; at the right extremity of this series comes Artemis, with a goddess that may be Leto, and although there is a break in the continuity at this point, we must suppose that Apollo was near here, or at all events belonged to this series. Farther on, towards the north extremity of the east front, will come the slabs showing the combats of Zeus and Athene; finally, the series *F* to *K*, on which appear the gods that I have supposed to be the Dioscuri, must be placed on the right of the north-east corner. So far we are guided by evidence that leaves little room for doubt, by the method in which the slabs are cut to suit a particular place on the altar, and also by the position in which certain fragments were found. By means of these clues the groups that filled each side of five out of six of the corners are fairly certain; for if, as we can scarcely doubt, Poseidon was present on the frieze, who plays a leading part in most of the larger representations of the gigantomachy—at times fighting on horseback,¹ more often on foot and armed with the trident—we can place him nowhere else than in the vicinity of Triton, that is, near the western extremity of the northern wing, on the right of the north-west corner; and near to this place must be brought the slab that shows the fore-parts of two sea-horses yoked to his chariot, from which he was fighting, or which, as on the western pediment of the Parthenon, was being guided by one of his following and was waiting on him. Finally, an inscription attests the presence of Ares on the frieze at the left side of one of the corners: by elimination there remain only two possible places for him, the extremity of the right staircase wall immediately at the left of Dionysos, and the northern extremity of the eastern front at the left of the series *F* to *K*. Reasons² have been shown, in a former paper, for placing him in the latter position, although it would not be out of accord with myth or religious conception if we grouped him with Dionysos. The accompanying sketch will show the system of arrangement that has been set forth partly above and partly in the earlier paper.

¹ *E.g.* on the Louvre Amphora, and on a coin and on a gem of Berlin: *vide* Toelken, *Geschnittene Steine*, p. 92, No. 53.

² *Hellenic Journal*, vol. vi. No. 1, p. 131.



We have no material with which we may fill up the space on the right staircase wall, except a single slab, from the farthest and narrowest part of the frieze, on which a youthful snake-footed giant is seen hastily retreating, and an eagle is in fierce combat with the serpent, and has struck his talons through the reptile's lower jaw.

It is very uncertain what groups we may place in the middle of the south or north front. The more sure the reconstruction of the monument becomes, the sculptors' principle of connecting the groups according to religious or mythic affinity emerges the more clearly; but this cannot decide for us here. We have

two alternatives in choosing from the material that is at hand; the hypothesis that Helios and his kindred were wrought for the north side, and were not far from the 'Dioscuri,' has been already put forward; but were they on the south side, between the Cabiri and the torch-bearing goddess of light and the lower world, the appropriateness of their position would be quite as clear. All the persons in the group of Helios move from right to left, and this might be thought to give a clue for deciding whether they belong to this or that side of the frieze. This would be the case, were the subject and treatment of the Pergamene akin to those of the Parthenon frieze, where a regular procession is represented, with a given starting-point and goal. But here there is no real centre, beginning, or end of the action; and movement in one direction is often immediately counterbalanced by the opposite movement. From such considerations, therefore, we can draw no theory of arrangement. If we leave the group of Helios in the centre of the north, we have other material that may as fitly fill, or help to fill, the south centre.

The slabs marked *Q* and *R* in the last edition (1885) of the *Beschreibung der pergamenischen Bildwerke* are important for the estimate of the style of the whole monument, but the action offers little interest, and the personages lack clearness of character. Slab *Q* shows us a goddess who has overthrown a hideous snake-footed giant, whose face, with its violent contortions, expresses nothing more than mere animal pain. She is threatening him with some weapon in her right hand, and with her left is clutching his hair, while her left foot is pressing hard on his serpent-limb. He is turned partly towards her, seeking to repel her with his right arm, and with his left hand to release his hair. We see here a motive that has been used no less than five times in the Pergamene frieze. There is more energy and life, but not more originality, in the action on the adjoining slab *R*. A goddess is hurrying forward and bending over a youthful giant who has fallen, and who is striving with one hand to check the thrust of the spear with which his enemy is transfixing him from above. The two goddesses resemble each other closely, both in action, drapery, and face, but there is nothing in their figures that proclaims their personality. Perhaps the fragments seen on the slab adjoining *Q* on the left will give a clue. The

upper parts and right arm of a goddess are preserved, who is advancing in the opposite direction from that of the goddess in *Q*, but at the same time is turning round and defending herself with a sword against the serpent on slab *Q*. She bears a quiver at her side, and we may therefore conjecture that she and the neighbouring female figures were part of the company either of Artemis or Cybele: for these two are the only goddesses on the frieze who are armed with the bow. But when we reckon up the room already filled on the east side by the figures that may claim to be there, there is scarcely space left to range these three goddesses or nymphs with Artemis. For this reason, and for certain peculiarities of workmanship, it is a more probable hypothesis that they belong to the group that gathers round Cybele.

The great goddess herself, at the south-west corner, is seated on the back of a lion that is springing rapidly forward from left to right. Her pose is essentially the same as that of Eos, there being the same contrast between the direction of the upper and lower parts of the body. We may conceive that she was lying at her ease a moment before, her body facing backwards, and that now she has turned her face and shoulders partly round towards the enemy against whom she is acting. Behind her shoulders is a quiver, in her left hand a bow, of which nothing is preserved. With a certain studied elegance of movement, she is drawing an arrow from the quiver. Neither in the action nor in the weapon, which seems capriciously chosen, is there anything that speaks to the personality of the goddess. There is no characteristic attribute, nor anything distinctive in the drapery. It is only because she is riding on the lion that we can name her, and can recognise in her the *Ταυροκτόνων λεόντων ἑφεδρος*, as she is represented on the frieze of Priene. The latter monument and the Pergamene frieze stand alone in ascribing to Cybele, who, as a rule, plays little part in the drama of Greek mythology, an active share in the gigantomachy. The sculptors of both monuments may have been prompted by the suggestions of local or at least Asia Minor worship; and we know that her cult was indigenous in the neighbourhood of Pergamon. But the Pergamene sculptor at least was obliged, for merely mechanical reasons, to admit her into the representation, as the space that he must cover was so

great that he could not dispense with any recognised figure of the Greek Pantheon.

As the other representations of the goddess that have survived were as a rule intended for the purposes of worship, and show her in repose or inactivity, we cannot suggest any other source from which the Pergamene motive is derived, except the frieze of Priene, assuming that this is certainly prior in time. But the resemblance between the earlier and later work is only general and superficial: her pose, her drapery, and her action are different on the two friezes. Whatever her weapon may be in the relief of Priene, it cannot be the bow¹; nor does her figure there show any complicated design, or the profuse detail and careful elegance of drapery which marks the work on the altar. While, as a rule, she is clad in the chiton and mantle, she here wears nothing but a light and soft chiton, which leaves the arms and shoulders bare, and a veil that flutters arch-wise around her head.² But the long hair, the softly-rounded and voluptuous forms that remind us of the later ideal of Demeter, are found in other representations of Cybele, and may be said to belong to the Hellenistic type. Above her, in the left corner of the slab, is an eagle carrying a thunderbolt bound by a fillet, which ends in two bell-shaped tassels. I do not know if this is a motive that occurs elsewhere in sculpture; it is a picturesque adjunct, probably not due to the imagination of the Pergamene sculptor, for we find a similar representation on a coin of Ptolemy Euërgetes.³

Beneath the lion is a fragment showing that Cybele is in the midst of the contest, the upper parts of a giant in a cuirass who is lying overthrown from left to right. A goddess of large and striking proportions advances before Cybele, protecting herself

¹ It is very rare that any warlike attributes are given to Cybele. On a carnelian in Berlin described by Toelken, p. 87, No. 9, she, or a goddess akin to her, carries a spear, and rests her hand on a shield.

² Cf. a coin of Stratoniceia published by Eckhel, *Num. Vet.* Tab. 12, No. 12, on which Cybele appears with a veil so arranged, riding on a lion. Prof. Gardner has called my attention to an electrum stater of Cyzicus belonging to

M. Waddington, representing Cybele seated on a lion, her right hand extended over his head. As the coin belongs to the early part of the fourth century, this will be the first known instance of such a position.

³ Müller *Denk. d. alt. Kunst.* 1, liii. No. 250; a type that becomes very prevalent, e.g. on coins of Amphipolis and Thessalonica, vide Head, *Coins of Macedonia*, pp. 51 and 111.

with her left hand against a serpent's head, and with her raised right hand levelling a weapon, probably a spear, against an enemy who is not immediately threatening her. Her movement shows energy and some dignity; her drapery consists of a half-sleeved double chiton, which is caught by the wind and swayed back by the movements of her body so as to display the forms of the lower limbs. Around her head, upon which there are traces of a diadem, is a large mantle or veil, like that of Cybele, curved and filled in the same way by the air. Before her, on the right, is a male figure with very strongly developed forms, who certainly belongs to the ministration of the great goddess. He stands swinging a heavy hammer in both hands, against a giant who is turned away from him. His enemy has serpent-legs, the hump, ears, and horns of an ox, and a semi-human face, —a monstrous creation, overcharged with coarse animalism, which may perhaps have been suggested by the Hesiodic description of Typhoeus,¹ and by certain purposes of symbolism, but which is altogether unsuited for sculpture. The movements of the monster, who seems to be butting forward violently against some adversary on the right, are explained by the fragments that lie underneath him: a left leg, with a serpent that belongs to the giant fastening its teeth into the calf; a small portion of the right leg, and a very mutilated fragment of a back; a left arm muffled in a cloak, and a left hand that is plunging a sword into the giant's body. From these we can safely construct the figure of a youthful naked god, who is partly overthrown and yet victorious, supporting himself on his right knee, while with his right hand he is dragging down his enemy's head by the horn, and is stabbing him with his left. The composition is skilful, and I do not know any exact parallel, though certain passages in the representations of the Centauromachia bear a general resemblance.

The sequence of the group of Cybele here abruptly ends, but there are two slabs which on intrinsic grounds must be placed on the south, near to these just described. A goddess (*T*²) in long chiton and upper garment, with long hair streaming on her

¹ Hesiod, *Thcogony*, 830; cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 799, 'matre satus Terra, monstrum mirabile, Taurus Parte sui serpens posteriore fuit.'

² The curve of her lion's tail incloses part of the serpent thigh of the giant in *T*².

shoulders, is advancing to the left against a giant, of whom nothing is seen but a left hand and arm appearing under a shaggy fell and clasping the spear which she wields against him, and fragments that prove him to be winged and serpent-footed. Her left hand rests placidly on the mane of a lion that has overthrown a youthful giant of human form. We see the one paw on his left shoulder, the other grasping his left thigh, and his jaws rending and mangling his left arm. We observe here the same principle of composition which we see elsewhere on the frieze, the inclusion of an episodic incident on the lower field between the two prominent figures of the action; and we are struck here by the power of the contrast between animal fierceness—for the lion's head is a masterpiece of naturalistic treatment and expression—and the repose in the figure and action of the goddess, who seems to pause as her onset is checked.

The slab *T* 2 on the right of the goddess is evidently connected with *T* 1, and contains fragments just sufficient to make the action intelligible. One of the fiercest and bulkiest of the giants is thrusting his whole weight violently forwards with his head downwards against an unseen antagonist, probably a lion, as we see traces of a lion's claw on his left thigh. Above his left hip is a large protuberance of flesh, which gives him something of the animal character that distinguishes the giant above described. They resemble each other also in pose and movement.

The proneness to monstrous combinations in sculpture may be thought to betray Oriental influences; and yet what is striking in the whole group of Cybele is the simple Hellenic representation of the divinities. The sculptor has not been tempted into subtle allusion to the mysteries, or into the employment of symbols of foreign cults. There is no Oriental and no mystic figure in her company, nor can any peculiarity of garb or weapon help us to recognise on any of the preserved slabs a Hermes-Cadmilos, or an Attis as we may perhaps recognise him in the gigantomachy of the Melos vase. The female figures which follow and precede her possess no attribute which might mark them as belonging to the ordinary priesthood or service of the Phrygian goddess. Being so near to Dionysos and Cybele, they must be Bacchantes, but with more than usual dignity of action and drapery. We are

here in the range of the Greek religious ideas of the sixth and fifth centuries, when the affinity of the two divinities was the cardinal point of Cybele's worship. This conception is simpler and older than that which places her near to Zeus as an omnipresent and all-powerful goddess.¹

Before we can estimate the fidelity with which the Pergamene sculptors adhered to the traditional divine types, we may try to discover other of the Olympians on the frieze. We may be certain that Hephaestos was present; but we cannot say in what form or group, as neither literary nor artistic record serves to determine with any exactness his part in the action; there are red-figured vases which represent him in the gigantomachy, but too quaintly to suggest a motive for monumental sculpture. In one of the last groups that cover the left wall of the staircase, (Z 2), we see a god and a goddess driving a number of giants before them. The goddess is wielding a club, and is partially concealed behind the strongly-marked and more prominent form of the god, who wears a short exomis that leaves bare the right part of the chest and the right leg, and whose body is swung backwards to the left for a violent blow. His full broad face is powerful, but has an almost *bourgeois* expression, which is helped by a coarse beard; the features are broad and heavy, and the cheeks are swollen beneath the eye-sockets. His chest is well developed, but there is nothing 'gigantesque' in the treatment of the muscles, and in his face none of the wild expression which is seen in the face of Boreas. It is not improbable that this god is Hephaestos, to whom the particular costume and type of countenance would be appropriate: for the hint of deformity, the more certain mark, it is useless to look, as the lower part of the left leg is missing, and we cannot say what weapon he held in his hands. But should this theory be proved true, we need not be surprised at finding him here in the vicinity of the sea-divinities; for not only are there legends in which he has relations with Poseidon, but on two vases in Berlin² he is fighting in the gigantomachy by Poseidon's side. But if the deity on our frieze be not Hephaestos, it is hard to suggest any other of the twelve Olympians to whom the forms are appropriate. Poseidon must have been near his sea-chariot, of which

¹ *Vide* Apoll. Rhod. 1, 1098.

² Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythologie*, 1, p. 362, Nos. 14 and 15.

a large fragment is preserved, but for which there is here no room, and neither he nor Oceanus, whose presence somewhere in this part of the frieze is attested by an inscription, could have been thus represented. And if he is a subordinate personage, he must belong to the train of the deities of the sea; but he has neither the forms nor the expression proper to the beings of this element.

Whatever theory we take about his personality, it will be difficult to reconcile with any the figure of his companion, the club-bearing goddess. For we cannot suppose that the weapon is assigned her out of pure caprice, and yet there is no goddess who can be elsewhere found so armed in the gigantomachy or in any other action. The only passage in any ancient record of the myth that might suggest an interpretation is a sentence of Apollodorus, if we could accept an emendation of Heyne's which has received little credit.¹

There are two other divinities of the sea which may be recognised upon the slabs, the one by an inscription, the other by his costume. The slab on the left of the north-west corner of the left staircase wall shows us a goddess of massive proportions threatening a youthful snake-footed giant, who yields before her, and tries to defend himself with his left hand. That she is Amphitrite is proved by an inscription on the block of the coursing above; although neither her figure, nor her drapery, nor her accoutrements, speak with any clearness as to her personality. We cannot see or conjecture her weapon: a long chiton falls between her legs into deep and narrow folds, and one fold of the mantle which is wound about her breast passes over her left shoulder and falls down at the side of her left knee. This costume of chiton and himation which accords with the dignity of the goddess, and which on archaic as well as later monuments she is seen wearing, is yet not essential to her, as the differently draped figure from the Parthenon west gable may tell us, and is not peculiar enough to be any sign of her. There is no tradition which gives her a part in the gigantomachy,

² Bibl. 1, 6, 2: Μοῖραι δὲ Ἀγριον καὶ Θόωνα χαλκίοις ῥοπάλοις μαχομένους—the Palatine MS. reads μαχομένας: Heyne suggests μαχόμεναι—and for intrinsic reasons this seems very pro-

bable, as in each item of the description it is the equipment and arms of the divinities that are mentioned, and never those of their antagonists.

or in any other very dramatic event: the Pergamene sculptor is perhaps the first who has made her play such a part, but he has not succeeded in lending much distinction either to her figure or to her action. On the other side of the corner is a kindred deity of the sea, whom an inscription proves to be Nereus. Except the peculiar hat which he wears, which seems to be partly made out of fish-scales, there is nothing in his appearance which does not belong to the traditional representation; only the marks of old age, which are often seen on his figure, are absent here. His hair is thick, and matted as though with water; his face has little expression, and none of the peculiar sentiment which distinguishes many of the divinities of the sea. Here, as in the greater number of the vase-paintings, he is of full human form, which properly belongs to him always, and which he only loses when he is confounded with Triton. His costume is that which he wears in the greater number of representations, a chiton with a mantle above it. As regards the action, there is no series of representations from which we can illustrate it, nor is the frieze-work sufficiently perfect here to allow us to explain it. We see his left hand enveloped in the folds of his mantle near his waist. The right hand, which held his weapon, is missing, but the shoulder shows us that the arm was not raised high; and the pose of the right leg and the arrangement of the drapery are too sedate for any violent action. It is probable that here, as in other scenes, he is bearing the trident, but not for immediate attack; he plays, in fact, a very subordinate part in the action, as his figure is partly covered by the more prominent and energetic goddess on the right.

So far there appears but little character in this group of sea-divinities. Of the representation of its leading figure, Poseidon, we have, as has been said, no direct evidence. But some clue may be offered by examining one of a series of free statues that were discovered near the great altar, and are now in the magazine. Among them we can recognise Zeus, Athene, Helios, Artemis, and Poseidon. As regards the first four, their movements and drapery leave little room for doubt that they are free reproductions of their corresponding figures on the frieze; and it is most natural to suppose that these did not belong to any separate group, but were placed above their counterparts between the columns of

the colonnade that rose immediately above the frieze. Is, then, the statue of Poseidon one of these? At first sight, his figure does not seem to accord with the idea of such an action. His eyes seem gazing into the distance, and his hair is bound with a chaplet; nor does the drapery show any violence of movement, the chiton being folded round the lower part of his body, leaving the torso bare, and then falling over his left shoulder and arm. And yet his right arm is uplifted as if brandishing the trident, and the statue may in its essentials be a replica of the Poseidon in the frieze. That it is more peaceful in its character than we should have expected is no certain argument against such a theory of its origin: for the sculptor, in reproducing the main forms, may have subdued the violence that was proper to the action of the original figure. We note this difference between the movements and the forms of the Zeus statue and those of the Zeus on the frieze.

There is one cycle of deities specially connected with Pergamon of whom there is no certain trace on the frieze; I mean the deities of health, Asclepios and his family. Although no legend and no representation gives them any place in this or in any similar myth, yet we may well believe that the Pergamene sculptor could scarcely have refrained from bringing them into this action: for he needed every divinity, and there was none whose type and presence were so familiar at Pergamon as those of Asclepios.¹ But it is certain also that his figure can be recognised in none of the preserved sculpture or fragments. It has, however, been suggested that two slabs, of which the right position on the frieze has not yet been proved, contain the figure of a personage who is connected with him and his worship. A giant of the older and fiercer kind, but human throughout in form, has sunk on his right knee before a goddess who is wresting aside his shield, on which the thunderbolt is carved for a badge. Fig. 1. The weapon with which she is attacking him is a curious missile, a jar or pitcher encircled with a small snake. Her form and face and movement show considerable beauty; her throat is broad and well modulated, her action has much animation, and her countenance has more than ordinary expression. A veil flutters behind her head, and a chaplet that seems to end in a knot of

¹ Furtwängler notes the two different modes in which the god was represented at Pergamon, *Sabouroff Coll.* Livr. xii. pl. 24.



FIG. 1.

wool sways down from her hair. The arrangement of her drapery is elaborate and fine; a mantle passes obliquely over her breast and is looped up over her left shoulder, and underneath is a diploidion of rich texture. The whole form and action are peculiar, and difficult to interpret. In a theory put forward by Trendelenburg,¹ it is argued that she is a demi-goddess of the family of Asclepios; not Hygieia, or any one of his daughters, for the forms are said to be too matronly; but possibly Epione, his wife, whose temple and statue at Epidauros are recorded by Pausanias. The vessel she hurls is a mortar, used for the mixing of drugs;² the fillet, and of course the snake, are appropriate. His main theory would be strengthened if his interpretation of some fragments that appear on the frieze above the head of the fallen giant were certain. These belong to the upper parts of a large serpent which Trendelenburg believes to have no connection with any giant, but rather to be the familiar attendant of the goddess, and to be aiding her in her attack by striking with its fangs at the head of the enemy. It is more likely, then, that the goddess belongs to the family of Asclepios, although an Erinnys or a Bacchante might possibly be represented as receiving such aid. But Trendelenburg's explanation of those fragments is precarious enough. The reptile certainly does not belong to the giant beneath it, but may well be part of another giant on the right whose figure is lost; and so far as we can follow the lines of its movement the serpent appears to be attacking neither the goddess nor her fallen adversary; but some object in the upper part of the frieze, possibly an eagle, or the face of a god belonging to the lost group on the right. Even if we admit that the missile in the hands of the goddess and the serpent attaching to it have reference to the cult and the functions of the deities of health, it will still be difficult to name her with certainty. Trendelenburg proposes to call her Epione rather than Hygieia because of a certain matronly character which he seems to find, but which I have not been able to discern in the figure. It is questionable whether this disposition of drapery

¹ A. Trendelenburg, *Die Gigantomachie des perg. Altars*, Taf. iv.

² He lays great stress on the shape of the vessel; but the same sort of jar is found on a votive relief, showing

a banquet in honour of the dead, which Furtwängler refers to the mysteries of Demeter. *Sabouroff Coll.* Livr. 13, pl. xxx.

accords with his theory, for at least on one votive relief at Athens¹ which contains the figure of Epione, her person is distinguished by the large himation which is drawn over the head in form of a hood; and the figure of Coronis which is seen on the coins of Pergamon² is similarly draped. But while there are difficulties in Trendelenburg's explanation, it is not easy to suggest a more certain. It has been supposed that these slabs were in close sequence with Q and R, and if, as I have suggested, the figures on these latter belong to the company of Cybele, then the goddess with the jar might well be a Bacchante, as we elsewhere find Bacchantes as the ministrants of Cybele. The jar with the serpent will then be a very free reproduction of the type which we not infrequently find on Pergamene coins, the Bacchic cista and the serpent entering the top.³ But if a Bacchante was to be brought in as a combatant on the frieze, why should she be so far separated from Dionysos, as she must be according to the previous calculations? And why should the sculptor in carving the sacred chest have so widely departed from the ordinary tradition concerning its form? Neither the Bacchic cista nor the Aesculapian mortar is a natural weapon for serious warfare, and in fact, whatever the explanation may be, it must be admitted that this is a vicious and unreal motive.

These slabs belong to a small series, in which two other combats are represented. On the left of the goddess we see a motive not uncommon in the battle-scenes of Greek art, an *ὄθισμός ἀσπίδων*, a giant and a god clashing their shields together and levelling their lances at each other. We recognise the giant by his constrained position which foretells his inevitable defeat, and by his cuirass which distinguishes him from the god who wears an exomis.

This costume, which leaves a large part of the torso bare, and which we see in other parts of the frieze, and also in the frieze of Priene, is probably used to denote the inferior divinity, here perhaps one of the Cabiri, if these slabs are in connection, as

¹ Milchhöfer, *Die Muscen Athens*, p. 46, 2.

² Choissoul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque*, ii. pl. v.; Wroth in *Num. Chron.* 1882, pl. 1, 13.

³ For the date which we may assign to the first use of this coin-type at Pergamon, vide Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, pp. 29—32.

has been suggested, with Q and R, and if these latter belong to the group of Cybele. Immediately at his left, on slab L, there is a goddess whom Trendelenburg supposes to be Iris, draped in a short chiton, and in a mantle that is folded round her breast. She stands behind her enemy, whose head she is wrenching backwards with her left hand, while she raises her right to plunge a sword into his breast, a motive often recurring on the frieze. There are few heads in the whole work that are so wrought for the expression of animal pain and rage as his. The eyes are staring, the mouth is wide open, and the violence of the countenance corresponds with the violent rendering of the forms, with the tension of the swollen muscles. The scaly growth which is seen on the upper part of his serpent limbs seems intended to show that he has affinity with the water, for Prof. Brunn's complaint that such marks are capriciously added as mere decoration,¹ is scarcely well founded. But what has Iris specially to do with the beings of this element? Neither the wings—for there are many winged goddesses on the frieze—nor her maidenly attire, nor her rich buskins ornamented with crescents and arabesque designs, are sufficient marks to enable us to name the goddess. Here as elsewhere in the frieze we feel that this sculpture lacks the faculty of vivid characterisation.

When we have studied all the slabs we find that there are but few divinities who are distinct and recognisable, and these are made so by certain obvious and conventional attributes, rarely by any individual character appearing in the forms or countenance. The power of the Pergamene school in spiritual expression would have been best tested by examining the heads of Zeus, Athene, and Apollo; but these have not been discovered, while those heads of divinities that yet remain on the frieze disclose on comparison a certain monotony of form and expression. Many of the faces of the goddesses are rendered in a merely decorative style, without any mental quality or inner life; and where a mental effect is found in the features, it is often only a fixed earnestness, stereotyped and conventional. The countenance is sometimes quickened with a certain physical excitement, but is on the whole

¹ *Ueber die Kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der perg. Gigantomachie*, p. 13.

without ethos; and it is interesting to note how this school of sculpture, lacking the power of spiritual expression, has achieved a high success in dealing with the forms of Helios and Selene; for all that was here demanded for showing the character of the divinity was the power of so handling the features that they should convey an allusion to the physical fact which is personified; and the head of Selene¹ with the shadows upon it strikingly illustrates this power which belonged to the Pergamene and to other schools of Alexandrine art.

But on the whole, the older functions of sculpture have perished. The frieze, fragmentary as it is, attests that the sculptors are unable to deal—as the earlier generation dealt—with the spiritual forms of the Greek religion. It is not that their invention has flagged in the appropriate display of action and movements, although undoubtedly many motives have been borrowed from earlier representation or dictated by received tradition, but the fatal defect is the lack of character and meaning in the countenance. Nor does it serve for justification to maintain that the aim of the work is mere decoration, that the architectural surface was too uniform to admit of any special interest being added to any particular part so as to arrest and absorb the spectator. This is the theory which has been advanced and very skilfully developed by Prof. Brunn in his treatise on this subject.² But, in the first place, it is surely untrue to say that there is an equal diffusion of interest throughout the various parts of the frieze, for even the execution varies considerably, and some motives, externally or formally at least, have a transcendent interest. And, in the second place, there are surely many works of Greek sculpture which equally fulfil a decorative purpose, and which yet find room for the highest spiritual expression: so that we have right to conclude that the absence of this in the Pergamene work is to be ascribed, not to a reserve of power, but to a failure of power.

But there are other works which the excavations have brought to light, free statues, or heads of divinities, which have no architectural purpose at all, but of which the forms are treated for their own sake, and which can bear witness to the limitations of the Pergamene school in the range of religious

¹ See *Hellenic Journal*, vol. iv. 128. *lung der pergamenischen Giganto-*

² *Ueber die Kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der pergamenischen Gigantomachie*, pp. 54—56.

sculpture. The best preserved and most important of these is the statue of Athena or Athena-Nike placed at the farther end of the 'Assyrian' Room in the Berlin Museum. The sculptor has adhered to the later 'Alexandrine' style in the rendering of the drapery: in the whole there is much praiseworthy care and warmth of execution, and the treatment of the face is so far appropriate that it is free of the mobility and passionate sentiment common in the Pergamene heads; but it wants the breadth of cheek, the peculiar treatment of eye and eyebrow, that marks the great and earlier type of Pallas; and thus it wants the high purity, the ideal impression which that type demands, and it shows instead a certain quality of heaviness, an almost prosaic character, so to speak.

There is another head in this room, of glistening fine-grained marble, with surfaces very softly handled, but without much warmth of execution in the whole. The contour is oval, the centre of the face rather broad; the forehead is rather high, and there is great breadth between the eyes. Some of these forms, and the thick masses of hair bound with a fillet, suggest an Apollo; but what ethos or distinctive genius does the work show? We find here, as in many other heads of this school, a certain strongly sensuous consciousness, but little spiritual expression or meaning. The most striking instance of the Pergamene manner is the head of Dionysos crowned with vine-leaves, placed near the former head. There is certainly much beauty and much freshness here in the handling of the forms, and the face cannot be said to be lacking in expression. The lips, full in the centre and half parted, the open corners of the mouth, the faint and soft depressions on the cheeks, the forehead, which protrudes in the middle and thus deepens the well-rounded sockets of the eyes,—all these features and marks combine with the sideward inclination of the head to create and enhance the impression of sensuous character. And as this character is at least in some degree appropriate to the god, the Pergamene school have been able to achieve something in their representations of him, notably in this head, which is an important addition to the religious sculpture of later Hellenism; in the figure also on the frieze, whose drapery and flesh display the voluptuous, half-effeminate character; and again in the well-preserved figure of Dionysos on a smaller

frieze, which from fragments that have been found appears to have reproduced some of the scenes of the larger gigantomachy. But in the earlier art, the sensuousness is only half expressed in the face of the god, and is blended with refined spirit: but in this later style it is this sensuousness which is obtruded upon us, which violently dominates the whole countenance.

Another frequent theme of Pergamene sculpture was Heracles, who through the legend of Telephos became a familiar figure in the native mythology. He was placed on the great frieze probably near to Zeus; he is seen on a slab of the smaller series contemplating Telephos and the doe, and the skilful reconstruction of another relief has restored the scene of the deliverance of Prometheus.

There can be little doubt that the group of Telephos and Heracles, the recognition of the infant by his father, is an original invention of the Pergamene school, just as the myth itself is Pergamene: an invention, indeed, of the older school, as the subject occurs on the coins of Capua;¹ though whether the original was a painting or a work of sculpture need not now be discussed. We have then a new motive gained for sculpture by the Pergamene school. But though the store of plastic subjects is thus enlarged, there cannot be said to be any display of original power here in dealing with the forms of Hellenic religion. In the Telephos relief, the body of Heracles is treated so as merely to express the idea of power by methods similar to those used to express the same idea in the bodies of the giants. The face is unfortunately missing here; but the head of the Farnese statue—if this may be taken as evidence—shows an acceptance of the older forms, and no new thought or presentation of character.

In the other relief-work, the deliverance of Prometheus, the face and figure of Heracles are almost wholly preserved. There is a great effect and dramatic vigour in the forms, and there is much show of energy in the face, in the half-opened mouth, the wide eyes and fixed glance, which recalls Philostratus's description of Heracles:² *τείνων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς νοῦν τινα καὶ οἶον*

¹ Friedländer, *Oskische Münzen*, Taf. iii. 19, 20; Helbig, *Pomp. Wandgemälde*, p. 161.

² Philostratus, ii. 21, from the de-

scription of the picture showing the combat between Heracles and Antaeus: many traits recall the style of a Pergamene gigantomachy.

διάσκεψιν τῆς πάλης. It is not easy to decide the question how much the Pergamene sculptor has borrowed from an earlier original, how much he has himself contributed both to the motive and expression. Milchhöfer arguing from the pose of Heracles and the lack of plastic symmetry in the group, refers the idea of the whole to some earlier painting. But to what age or school the painter belonged we have no direct evidence to show. We know that the subject was differently handled in Panaenus' painting on the throne of the Zeus Olympios.

As regards the picture painted by Parrhasius, which Milchhöfer believes to be the original of the later works,¹ we know only—if we can trust the account—that it represented the martyrdom of Prometheus: there is no hint of the presence of Heracles, and in fact the story implies that the face of Prometheus expressed nothing but hopeless agony, and that therefore the deliverer had not yet arrived. But in any case the very existence of such a picture must be doubted; for when Seneca is choosing a subject for a school exercise in rhetoric, his historical authority is not great.

In fact, though we may find a picturesque character in the Pergamene relief, and certain common elements in the works which Milchhöfer quotes as treating the same theme, we are not obliged to suppose that there was a great common original, and that this was a picture. For those works differ in composition considerably the one from the other: they agree only in showing Heracles drawing the bow, the chained Titan, and the vulture on his knee. Now the first two are necessary to the very idea of the action, and the position of the vulture may belong to an ancient artistic tradition.

The picture described by Achilles Tatius,² painted by a certain Euanthes, and hung in the opisthodomus of the temple of Zeus Kasios at Pelusium, seems to have borne a striking resemblance to the Pergamene relief both in composition and sentiment; and if we knew that this was prior to the relief, we must say, either that this inspired the latter representation, or that both are from a common original. But we are not sure of the priority of the Pelusian picture; and on account of the singular affinities which according to the description it possessed with Pergamene

¹ *Die Befreiung des Prometheus*,
p. 21.

² *Erot. Script.* iii. 6 (ed. Jacobs).

style and motive, we might even believe it to have been produced under the influence of this school.

If these considerations are just, it will appear that there is no clear evidence to show that the representation of the 'Prometheus Unbound' at Pergamon is a copy of an earlier work of another school. It is a theme that would naturally attract a Pergamene sculptor or painter, offering great scope, as it does, for dramatic and pathetic effect, for the expression of physical pain and the quasi-physical emotion of terror. But even if the composition is borrowed from an earlier work, the peculiar style of Pergamon appears at least in many of the details: for instance, in the treatment of the lips and eyes, in the naturalistic rendering of the lion's fell which covers his head.

It is, then, proved by the monuments that the native art—or the local art—was able to deal successfully in some degree with the types of Dionysos and Heracles, although in neither case can it be said to have added or discovered anything: rather it has emphasised the sensuous sentiment of the one, and the physical life and energy in the form and features of the other. It is also true that these are the two types which demanded least power of spiritual expression in the sculptor.

The lack of this power in the frieze-work is therefore not due solely to its architectural purpose or to its decorative character, but it is a defect which the Pergamene school, in spite of its high achievements and its peculiar skill in a certain range, shared with the other schools of Alexandrine sculpture. Besides those already described, there are other fragments of statues of divinities in the museum and magazine, such as a head of Athene helmed, with a breadth of cheek as of the Pheidian type, but with some forms of a later style; a large statue of Athene, lacking the head, in drapery and pose an interesting copy of the Pheidian Athene Parthenos; fragments in very transparent marble of the fingers and arm of a colossal goddess, probably Athene; fragments of another colossal statue, probably of Artemis, namely two legs, the one wearing a buskin, and a hand with finely-wrought veins, the fingers probably closing on the bow string. If these statues are not imported, but are of native work, they will show that at Pergamon, as elsewhere, sculpture was occupied with reproducing older forms, and while still retaining perfect mastery in detail, and a genius for imposing colossal effect, could no

longer work immediately, or with creative gift, in the range of religious sculpture.

NOTE I.—The following are the more recent discoveries concerning some of the fragments for which hitherto no place on the frieze had been found:—

(1) A large piece of the chin and cheek of Gaia has been found, almost completing the lower part of her face, and showing large and rounded forms of countenance with surface much disfigured.

(2) A fragment of Selene's left arm, with part of her mantle, and the back of her mule's head, which the drapery touches.

(3) Fragments of serpents' limbs with the left foot of a god pressing on one, and his right calf and foot; belonging almost certainly to the group of the god and the lion-headed giant.

(4) Fragment of the right leg of the giant who lies below Apollo, and who is of human shape throughout. The giant's head has also been found: of the youthful type, helmed, small curls appearing below the cheek-pieces; the expression of the face is very excited, the brows are knitted, the lips are parted, the eyes are swollen in the centre, the eyebrows are thick and strongly indicated, the lower eyelids are broad and heavy. The head is drooping towards the earth, and the pose strikingly resembles that of the dying Gaul of the Capitoline.

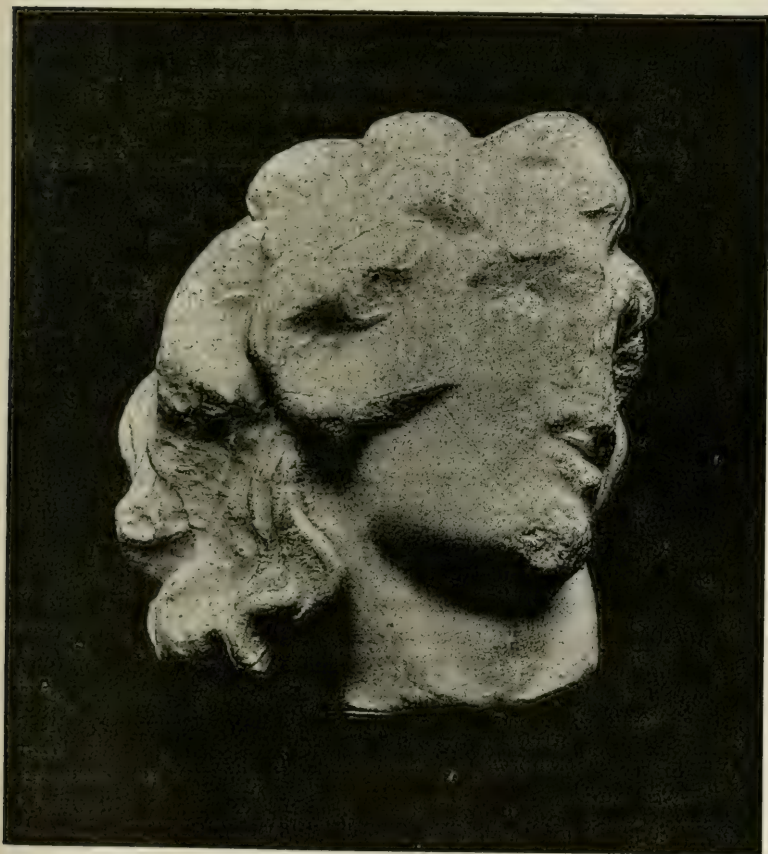
(5) Head of the giant who is advancing with the spear, on the right of Apollo: of youthful type, and covered with a helmet, beneath which locks of hair escape; the expression is vehement and determined; the face is a broad oval, with the usual depressions about the mouth and chin, and the high spring of the eyebrows, and the protruding eyeballs.

(6) Fragments of Dionysos: the left arm with part of the chlamys upon it, the left foot and the lower part of the left leg with the buskin.

(7) Fragments of group *B*: the right arm of the goddess, who is thrusting her sword downwards, and the left hand of the giant beneath her who is clutching this forearm.

(8) The head of the goddess next to Artemis on the right, who is brandishing a torch: the face, much disfigured, is a large oval. The head and body of her antagonist have been almost fully reconstructed out of fragments, and his shape is unique; most of his form is human, but he has wings at his shoulders,

and claws on his fingers and toes, and a serpent springs from his back like a tail. He is supporting himself with his left arm, and his left hand is clenched against the rocky basement, while his right hand is raised to grasp the torch. Faint marks on the drapery of the goddess, which were not formerly understood, are now seen to be the marks of his claws. His mouth is rather broad, and reveals the teeth.



NOTE II.—There is a small head in the British Museum which may be briefly mentioned, and of which a cut is here given. The fragment is about four inches high, and is of fairly

good workmanship, belonging probably to the first century before Christ. It appears from the cutting of the marble at the back to be part of a high relief, perhaps the decoration of a sarcophagus. It is described in the Museum Register as a satyr-head from Trebizond, and that is the only record I can find concerning its origin. This identification is due probably to the misinterpretation of the expression, and perhaps to the belief that small horns were discernible above the forehead. But none are really there, and the head is obviously that of a dying giant. I know of no work, except perhaps the 'dying Alexander,' that stands in so close a relation with the frieze, or so clearly shows the same manner and character. The pose strikingly resembles that of the young giant's head, who is falling before Athene; and the expression of wildness and violent agony recalls the countenance of the giant in group *A* who lies at the feet of the goddess with the torch. And all the features belong essentially, both in structure and spirit, to the type of the youthful giants' heads which prevails on the great frieze. We see the thick clusters of dishevelled hair, the violently protruding forehead, the overhanging brow, and the deep-set eyes and swollen eyeballs, the half-opened mouth and the high spring of the upper lip, the oval contour of the face, and the emphasis given to the fleshy parts. The forms are not mechanically or conventionally rendered, nor are there any marks of the Roman period. If the report is trustworthy, it is an interesting fact that Trebizond is the place whence the marble was brought. The legend of the gigantomachy was indigenous there, and the city, like Pergamon, traced its origin to Arcadia. It is conceivable that the influence of the Attalid kingdom and the Pergamene school was felt at Trapezus as we know it was felt at Cyzicus.

L. R. FARNELL.

NIKÈ SACRIFICING A BULL.

[PLATES D, E.]

THE group of Nikè *βουθυτοῦσα* is one which is already so well known among works of ancient art, that in adducing further instances of this type we cannot hope to bring forward much that adds to our previous knowledge of the subject. It is, however, just one of those cases which, from the very frequency of its recurrence in ancient art, has a special claim upon our attention; a motive which, starting as it doubtless does, from a great Greek original, continues favourite down to late Roman times, is worthy of study in the phases of development which different material and different periods bring about, and therefore I think no apology is needed for introducing the fresh examples of it now before us.

The starting point, the *Haupttypus* so far as we know, of this motive, is of course the small fragment which remains to prove that it existed in the reliefs on the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nikè at Athens. In his admirable monograph on these sculptures,¹ published in 1869, Kekulé contented himself with a brief description of this fragment, without being able to identify the original motive of the group from which it came, or its position on the frieze. In his subsequent publication, however, on the same subject,² he was enabled to compare it with several representations on ancient works of art, with results which clearly prove that the fragment of the relief yet surviving is part of the group of Nikè sacrificing a bull, of which the knee of the figure resting on the back of the bull is unfortunately all that remains. This discovery is of the greatest importance,

¹ *Die Balustrade des Tempels der Athena Nikè in Athen.* Leipzig, 1869. *Tempels der Athena Nikè.* Stuttgart, 1881.

² *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade des*

because it enables us to trace back, perhaps to its origin, the existence of a group which from this time forward continues one of the most favourite motives in decorative art of all subsequent times. Kekulé gives several instances of its repetition on terra-cottas of a late period, and quotes its occurrence on certain coins. In the British Museum alone, we have a great number of representations of this scheme, and it is my present purpose, in giving some account of them, to attempt in some measure to date these instances, and in so doing to trace the development of the type through all the different periods of its appearance in art from the balustrade downwards.

First in point of date as in importance in our list, comes the bronze mirror case, of which the relief given on Plate *D* is the decoration; it is said to have been found at Megara, and was acquired last year by the British Museum. The diameter of the mirror is 14·5 centim., the greatest width of the relief, 8 centim., greatest height, 12 centim., and greatest projection, 1·5 centim.

The relief is chased from a thin sheet of metal, and was fastened to the top of the disk which served as a cover for the protection of the polished surface of the mirror.¹ The bull has fallen on its knees to the right and is pressed downwards in that position by Nikè, whose knees rest against the shoulders of the animal; with her left hand she grasps the bull's nose, forcing its neck back in readiness to deal it the *coup de grâce* with the knife which she holds in her right hand. Beside the bull, on the right-hand side of its neck, the groundwork of the relief is not as elsewhere cut away close to the design, but extends for about a $\frac{1}{4}$ in. outside the line of the bull's neck. The reason of this is apparent if we look at the top of this space; here is an object in slight relief, formed by two lines converging outwards, evidently part of some object which is meant to be indicated as in the background beside the bull. It is difficult to say what this object was; but I think this is a proof that the artist was copying from some well-known group, in which the original

¹ Unfortunately the Plate before us gives only a general idea of the group, without at all expressing the delicacy and refinement of the original. This was no fault of the artist, who has done as much as was possible in very difficult circumstances. The patination

of the metal, and the foreshortening employed, made photography almost useless, and upon a very imperfect negative the lines of the original had to be painted in, and were then reproduced by autotype process.

intention of this detail would be sufficiently recalled to the spectators for whom the mirror copy was intended.

As it is, it seems almost as if added as an afterthought ; possibly the artist may have desired to break the monotony of the long line formed by the upraised throat of the bull continued on into the line of Nikè's wing, and for this purpose it certainly has an artistic value ; it may be that we have part of a *loutron* or small altar, such as would be natural in a sacrificial group, and of which one or two examples occur on the Balustrade. The relief is by this means made to assume an ear-shape, a form very suitable for application as ornament to a circular space, and one which, whether intentionally or not, the designers of this class of bronze reliefs frequently adopted.

Since the publication of M. Mylonas upon Greek mirrors,¹ the list of known mirror cases with *appliqués* which he there collected has been considerably increased, and the number of those already described amounts to upwards of forty. So far as can be judged from the published notices, none of these go back to a period earlier than the beginning of the third, or end of the fourth century. This date seems to have been most fertile for this style of bronze relief, and the class of subjects usually chosen is just what we should expect from the idyllic temperament of the period, which delighted in *genre* scenes of loves and ladies.

Our mirror case stands alone, not merely in the choice of its subject, worthier of an artist's hand, but also in its execution. So far as I can gather from the descriptions given in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, and elsewhere, these other instances are usually described as cast, whereas our example, like the bronzes of Siris, is certainly *repoussé*.

In considering this question, it would be interesting to ascertain what proportion of these bronze reliefs were *repoussé* ; it may be quite possible that many of the flatter reliefs, such as heads of Aphroditè, &c., which occur in this connection, are cast ; and, indeed, many of these later examples are of such poor execution as to suggest their having been reproduced mechanically 'by the dozen.' At the same time, all those which I have been able to examine from the back seem to show traces of work behind as well as in front ; the material is usually quite thin throughout, and the most delicate details of the outer surface

¹ Ἑλληνικὰ κάτοπτρα, 1876.

have their corresponding depression within. The usual method of attaching them to the flat disk of the mirror was by the medium of some metallic composition (solder?) which solidified the relief at the same time, and so rendered it less fragile : otherwise, especially in later cases, the *applique* was fastened by rivets, and for this purpose a narrow flat edge was left outside the relief.

There is one point, however, which practically settles our mirror case as *repoussé*, and that is the employment of undercutting. In the Siris bronzes this process is of course very successfully employed, and in the present instance it also occurs, *e.g.* in the face of Nikè, and the top of her pinion, though very slightly. The evident desire of the artist to gain this effect is further shown in the knife which Nikè holds, and which is separately modelled ; passing through the hand, it is fastened by solder at the back. The plan of introducing separately-moulded weapons, horses' bits, &c., into marble reliefs, is quite in accordance with the best traditions of low relief, there being plenty of instances both on the Parthenon and Mausoleum friezes. And here, too, the artist, though not a Pheidias or Skopas, has used it with consummate skill ; as without breaking the beautiful curved outline of Nikè's wing, it relieves that portion of the design from flatness, forming a balance to the strong modelling of the bull's head, and adds at the same time a wonderful spirit and boldness to the treatment.

In work so delicate as this, the difficulty of obtaining a high relief is indeed a crucial point as testing the skill of the artist, and as a rule, the later the relief, the less relatively is the skill in this direction exhibited. In our mirror case, the artist has been hampered by the difficulty of obtaining sufficient relief in treating such thin material to excessive *repoussé* ; and from this point of view it is interesting to compare with the Siris bronzes. In the latter, the thickness of the metal in the unbeaten portions is not greater than that of the Victory ; but the delicate material is handled with such skill, and its malleability is so thoroughly understood, that the most salient portions, *e.g.* the helmet of the warrior, stand out almost in the round, and at this point the bronze is hammered to the thinness of paper.

In the Victory group, on the other hand, we can see how much the composition would have gained by a more salient



relief; from the necessity of keeping the relief down, the human figure scarcely stands out at all from the side of the bull, and the result is that she does not appear to have the firm purchase with her feet which is necessary to the exercise of strength brought to bear in keeping the bull in its position. She must, it seems, in another moment, either plunge the knife in the neck of the animal or lose her balance and slip down off its side. In the group on the Balustrade we may be sure no such difficulty occurs.

There, we may be sure from the small fragment that remains, the action was certainly vigorous and decided. In all probability the figure of Nikè was nearly erect; and it is curious in this connection to note that whereas on the Balustrade, with all the subtle variations on the same theme of figures of Nikè, the whole of the figures are erect; in the later reproductions of similar motives, the figures of Victory are almost invariably in a crouching or kneeling attitude. Nothing illustrates this so well as the set of gems on Plate *E*, of which a brief description will suffice.

1. *Green paste*, set in ancient silver ring. Nikè kneeling, with left knee on back of bull, whose nose she grasps with her right hand, cutting its throat with her left; drapery swings back from her waist, but the upper part of her body is nude. On right a small *cippus*, on which is statuette of a goddess holding the forelegs of two animals with either hand.

2. *Yellow paste*, similar, but turned to left.

4. Upper half of *white paste*; figures larger; Nikè *accroupie* to right beside bull, whose head is thrown back by her left hand; her right hangs at her side; drapery hanging from left arm; hair short like that of a male; body like that of effeminate youth.

5. *Yellow paste*; very slight relief; similar to preceding; hindquarters of bull not given.

6. *White paste* almost identical with preceding.

7. *White paste with greenish tinge*, similar to preceding, but turned to left, and in place of the absent hindquarters of the bull, a curl of drapery. A background for the whole composition is provided by a large altar (?) with volutes, decorated with branches over the centre. The left side just comes outside the bull's neck.

I have collected here all the instances that we have in the

British Museum on gems of this motive; it will be noticed that they are always pastes. What the intention of these pastes was we can hardly tell; in some cases, no doubt, they were intended as reproductions of subjects composed in fine stones, and were set in rings for people who could not afford the finer material; in other cases they may have been employed as moulds for the terra-cotta gilt jewellery, which seems to have been greatly in use for the decoration of the dead. In any case, they are probably of a late period, and belong generally to the time when glass manufacture, originally a monopoly of the East, was freely introduced into the Hellenic world. I have added to these a relief from the top of a terra-cotta lamp feeder or guttus of black glaze in the British Museum (*Vase Cat.* No. 1850), which gives very much the same type as the gems. The numerous instances that occur on vases of this form must all date from about the middle of the third century, and this would give a very fair date for the pastes. Among the gems before us, Nos. 1 and 2 seem for various reasons to be the earliest, and in these it is noticeable that whilst the figures of Nikè and the bull are relatively smaller, Nikè is standing almost erect. In the other examples, Nikè invariably kneels, and there is in consequence room in the design for a larger figure.

We have said that on the Balustrade the figure of Nikè is nearly erect. In the earlier representations of struggles of men and animals the attitude is almost invariably the same. Where Herakles is overcoming the Kretan bull or Theseus the Marathonian bull, the hero as a rule controls the animal by grasping its horns, pressing with his knee against the animal's shoulder. The attitude of kneeling on or beside the fallen animal is one which seems most appropriate to the contest with a smaller animal, such as a ram, and in fact, on several vase-paintings of the lower Italian style, Nikè occurs in this attitude with a ram. It may be that this motive originated in some work of art, where Nikè and the ram were represented in this combination. From a practical point of view, if we assume that the representations on the Balustrade give us scenes which the artist must have constantly witnessed in sacrifices at the temples of his native town, he must have known it to be impossible to hold a bull down in this position unless it were first bound or stunned with a blow. When once the type becomes settled in

the kneeling position, we get a variety of slight variations in small details; occasionally the bull struggling, one foreleg free; and occasionally the hand of Nikè which holds the knife is raised to the animal's throat; but inasmuch as neither of these motives are consistent with the crystallised actionless type of later art, the bull has usually all four legs bent beneath him, and the hand of Nikè falls aimlessly at her side. When we consider how frequently this subject of Nikè βουθυτοῦσα must have come into ancient art, it is not surprising to find variations in the *Nachklänge*. For we know of its occurrence in the Balustrade; it may also have come in on the throne of Olympian Zeus. It is referred in a passage of Tatian to Myron,¹ and Pliny describes a similar group of Menaechmus. For any votive dedication commemorating the successful issue of any crisis in the life of an individual, nothing could be more appropriate than this group of Nikè and a bull. Among so much preparation for sacrifice and the surroundings thereof, which we see on the Balustrade, it is natural to suppose that the central point of interest is that where the sacrifice itself is consummated.² The Nikè βουθυτοῦσα is the mainspring of the story there depicted, and would be the most natural group to select for isolation where the requisite was to find a single group which should tell a plain story and be complete in itself. And it is quite possible that even great artists may not have been above executing to order replicas of a well-known motive, into which their own individuality of style could be imparted. In this connection it is worthy of note that of the numerous variations of the type which occur on the Balustrade, this is the only one which survives to any extent in late times.

On some of the gems in our list, and also on some of the

¹ Or, according to another interpretation, to Mikon. Knapp argues (*Nikè in der Vasenmalerei*, Tübingen, 1876, p. 77), that the passage of Tatian, μόσχος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ Νίκη, is not applicable here, because of what follows, ὅτι τὴν Ἀγήνορος ἀρπάζας θυγατέρα μοιχείας καὶ ἀκρασίας βραβεῖον ἀπηνέγκαστο. I cannot see that a group of Nikè βουθυτοῦσα need be considered so inappropriate an allusion to the Europa legend. The use of ἐπὶ would suggest

an attitude astride of the victim, as on a leaden tessera (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* viii. Pl. vi. No. 223) Nikè bestrides a ram, and on electrum coins of Kyzikos a tunny-fish.

² See Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, p. 286, No. 773. The position of this group on the Balustrade was next to Athenè in the centre of the west side, and specially marked by the attitude of Athenè, who turned round towards it.

terra-cotta reliefs (see *post*), our Nikè group is accompanied by an additional motive; in gems Nos. 1 and 2 this takes the form of a small *cippus* surmounted by an apparently archaic statuette of a goddess holding in either hand an animal by the forelegs. I do not think we need necessarily attach much importance to the introduction of this statuette in the design; it may be that the two pastes are both copied from some original group where this combination was well known; but on the other hand, as we see in the case of the terra-cottas, little archaistic *xoana* of this kind are frequently inserted where they can only have been introduced to serve a decorative purpose. And I should be inclined to think that in the pastes they are employed merely as a *Raumaufüllung*, such as the shape of the field in these special instances requires.¹ No. 7 is a specimen of the liberty which the artist allowed himself in a purely decorative direction. Here the altar or column is placed behind Nikè, and is sufficiently exaggerated in size to form a background for the entire group. On the mirror case, as I pointed out, we have some indication of a similar motive, but there the *loutron* is merely suggested, and may possibly have been borrowed from some similar idea in the Balustrade sculptures.

Without wishing to engage in the vexed question of the probable date of the Balustrade reliefs,² we may at any rate accept it as proven that this cannot be later than the end of the Peloponnesian War, B.C. 404. While in all probability they are much earlier, this date at any rate places the Balustrade *βουθυτοῦσα* group before any other known instance of the type. Perhaps the nearest approximation to the marble, in point of date, is the motive which occurs on the gold coin of Abydos (see *British Museum Guide to Coins*, Pl. 18, 14). Here Nikè is sacrificing a ram, upon which she kneels, her figure is fully draped, and the right leg of the ram is free. This design is impressed in an incuse square, and can therefore hardly be later than about B.C. 400.

Again, on the gold stater of Lampsakos,³ which must go back to a period before B.C. 359, when the gold coinage was superseded

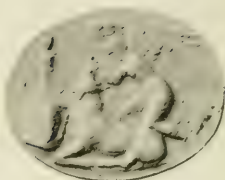
¹ On a Berlin gem, Müller, *Denkm.* ii. 209, a statuette of Athenè occurs in a similar relation to this group. see Murray, *History of Sculpture*, ii. pp. 179-180.

³ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1885, Pl.

² For a general statement of the case, 1, 9.



1



2



3



5



4



8



6



7

by Philip, a similar type, with the ram, occurs. It is certainly significant that the only two coin types of the fourth century which employ this motive should introduce the ram instead of the bull; and I think that here again we have a suggestion that though the Balustrade gives us the earliest type of Nikè with a bull, the attitude itself and the idea may have been borrowed from an earlier existing type of Nikè, or some other figure, sacrificing a ram.

On the coins of Roman times, as of course in every other branch of Roman art, the group is of frequent occurrence. On the two Roman marble groups in the British Museum (*Mus. Marbles*, x. 25, 26), which are a good deal restored, a certain amount of vigour is imparted to the formulated type by variation in slight details and the fancy of the restorer, but the formula is nevertheless unmistakable.

There is another point in the comparison between the earlier and later types of this group which is at once obvious, and belongs to the general history of Greek sculpture; whereas in earlier Greek art representations of the female figure are almost universally draped, from the Praxitelian period downwards there is a decided preference for nude forms; or if drapery is employed at all it is only partially introduced, and serves, as in the so-called Venus of Milo, as a foil to throw up the rounded softness of the portion left nude. We see the influence this sentiment has on the type of Nikè in the well-known Brescia figure,¹ where the same arrangement of drapery is used as in the Venus of Milo and the Aphroditè of Capua. On Pl. *E*, fig. 8, I have placed, to illustrate this point, a paste in the British Museum; it is of a beautiful deep-blue colour, and though of rough execution is obviously a reproduction of the same type as the Brescia statue. Nikè stands with her left foot resting on a helmet, and writes upon a shield which is supported by her left hand and knee: her body is nude to the waist, and her hair is tied in a knot behind.

On the Balustrade the entire series of figures are completely, nay, voluminously, draped. On the Parthenon pediment, and on the Paionios figure this is equally the case, but in both

¹ Though of course the Brescia Nikè is probably of the first century A.D., it is I believe generally agreed

that as a type it must be an imitation of an earlier period; see Friederichs-Wolters, *op. cit.* p. 565.

these instances the drapery is such as admits of the free and unimpeded action necessary to the messenger of the gods; and so on our bronze, though the figure is undoubtedly feminine, the close-girt light drapery does not impede the free action of the limbs, and the well-fitting shoes bespeak a character widely different from the stay-at-home type of the ordinary Athenian maiden. On the other hand, there is already a trace in this group of the sentiment which is creeping in; Nikè is holding the bull in a position which sufficiently indicates her purpose, but instead of directing her attention to the work in hand, she looks away to the right, and by this small detail alone the action seems indefinitely postponed. Still, in point of exquisite finish of detail, even down to the stippled surface of the bull's hide, there is a large gap between the bronze group and the pastes and terra-cottas of later times: as a further example of this difference, and as showing how much the type became conventionalised, we may remark the working out on the bronze of the hindquarters of the bull; on the later pastes and terra-cottas this portion of the design is either left out entirely, or its place is supplied by a sweep of the otherwise useless drapery. These minor lapses are what one might overlook in works of art so small as the pastes, were it not that on the terra-cotta reliefs, which are usually about 2 ft. by 1 ft., the same remarks equally apply, and there the increased size renders them consequently the more apparent. Of these terra-cotta reliefs we have in the British Museum no less than ten examples, five complete and five fragmentary, of which a brief description is given below.¹

The whole subject of Roman terra-cotta mural reliefs is one that needs working out: meantime I think there can be no question that the form in which they come to us was derived as a direct tradition from Greek work of a similar kind of about the third century or earlier. The series of Tarentine terra-cottas which late years have brought us, give us a fairly

¹ They divide into four types, as follows: *A* type.—1. Group to right, one foot of bull free, knife at side; on right elaborate altar. 2. Similar, with blazing thymiaterion in place of altar, supported by female statuette. *B*.—1. Similar, without altar. 2, 3. Fragments

of ditto. *C*.—1. Group to left, one foot of bull free; Nikè stabs the bull downwards in throat; on left, tripod with basket (?) on it. *D*.—1. Similar, without tripod. 2-4. Fragments of ditto.

complete connection, and take us back at least so far. To this period I think, then, we must attribute the formation of the stereotyped group so favourite in Roman times. It was an age when the type of Nikè was undergoing a process of complete transformation. This is specially apparent on the vase-pictures of the period.

With the growing fashion in favour of the polychrome method and the use of perspective in the later vases, comes in a tendency towards the selection of groups which should afford scope for the employment of white colour, and for the artist's skill in representing soft, rounded forms. The first effect is shown in the alteration of the type of Eros; he is no longer the strong youthful figure of the Parthenon, but becomes a sort of hybrid creation who is neither male nor female, a personification of the attendant genius of love: and into this type it is that Nikè, stripped of her clothes, becomes merged.¹ A small fragment of drapery is left to her, but it is a mere useless rag which only emphasises the nudity of the form which it is not intended to conceal. Similarly, as we see on the pastes and terra-cottas, Nikè is no longer an essentially feminine type; the form is soft and rounded, qualities which are well brought out in the crouching attitude suggestive of the Aphrodite *accroupie*; but the chest is as much masculine as feminine, and the features and head-dress are decidedly those of a male figure.

To sum up, then; in tracing the development of this motive of Nikè *βουθυτοῦσα*, I would suggest that the earliest type is that where Nikè is erect with one knee on the bull which she stabs, is fully draped, and is of a decidedly feminine character; the latest, where she kneels beside the bull, the knife hanging purposeless in her hand, where her body is undraped and her form androgynous in type. And between these two extremes we may range all the variations which occur according to their tendencies to one or the other.

CECIL SMITH.

¹ See Knapp, *Nikè in der Vasenmalerei*, chap. 4.

C. JULIUS THEUPOMPUS OF CNIDUS.

‘Es ist das schoene Vorrecht der historischen Forschung, die Verstorbenen in der Erinnerung der Nachwelt wieder aufleben zu lassen. Erscheint es billig, dass die Namen derer, welche sich hohe Verdienste um ihr Volk erworben, der Vergessenheit nicht anheimfallen, so ist es menschlich, denen überhaupt nachzuforschen, welche einst in weiten Kreisen von der Mit- und Nachwelt genannt und gefeiert worden sind.’

With these words, used by Dr. Koehler¹ in regard to the once famous ‘condottiere,’ Diogenes, in the third century B.C., I beg to introduce to the reader a personage who, although perhaps of limited interest, was once celebrated and powerful and had the honour of calling himself the friend of Julius Caesar. His son moreover did his best to prevent a deed, the failure of which would probably have changed the direction of the history of the world,—the murder of Caesar.

The passages in ancient writers which relate to the man of whom I speak are well known, but they have not hitherto been rightly connected with one another, or thoroughly understood. Among the memorable men who came from Cnidus in his own time—*καθ’ ἡμᾶς*—Strabo (p. 656 c) has recorded a certain Theopompus, and his son Artemidorus. To the name of the former is added a predicate, due apparently to facts within the writer’s knowledge though he does not state them—*ὁ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ φίλος, τῶν μεγάλα δυναμένων*. Curiously enough both Mr. Newton (*Hist. of Discoveries*, p. 712) and M. Waddington (Lebas III. n. 1572) have on the strength of this passage of Strabo called Theopompus a friend of Augustus.

¹ *Hermes*, vii. p. 1.

But there is no reason why Καῖσαρ ὁ θεὸς should not signify here, as usually, Julius Caesar, the more so as there exists unmistakable evidence of friendship between him and Theopompus. This evidence has been strangely overlooked, and yet it occurs in no out of the way writer, but in Plutarch's Life of Caesar himself, cap. 48: Καῖσαρ . . . ἀφάμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας, Κνιδίους τε, Θεοπόμπῳ, τῷ συναγαγόντι τοὺς μύθους, χαριζόμενος, ἡλευθέρωσε καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦσι τὸ τρίτον τῶν φόρων ἀνῆκεν. This took place immediately after the battle of Pharsalus (A. U. C. 706). From a comparison of the different accounts of Caesar's pursuit of Pompeius it seems possible that he touched at Ephesus (*Bell. Civil.* cap. cv); most probably he passed Cnidus (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II. 116, see below) and certainly Rhodes (Appian, *op. cit.* II. 89, cp. *Bell. Civ.* cap. cvi). His whole stay in this region occupied only a few days, as the pursuit was particularly prompt and rapid.

We are certainly entitled to argue from Plutarch's expressions that Theopompus was a man still well known to the author's contemporaries, both for his literary pursuits and for his connection with Caesar. It is not improbable that this is the same Theopompus, who appears about three years later in Italy, in Cicero's *Tusculum*, and again in connection with Caesar.¹ He is possibly also the man whose expulsion and flight to Alexandria is so severely commented upon by Antonius in his letter to Hirtius (Cicero, *Philipp.* xiii. 16, 13). It is true that the Theopompus in question is very ill spoken of by Cicero in that passage. But we must remember that Cicero's judgments were notoriously affected by considerations of the moment. This Theopompus may therefore be identical not only with the person mentioned above (*Ad Att.* XIII. 7, 1) but even with the man of the same name who is referred to, in a very friendly way, in a letter to Quintus (*Ad Quint. fr.* I. 2, 3, 2). This, however, is not at all certain, as the letter was written as early as A. U. C. 695. Still more perplexing is another very brief mention of a Theopompus (*Ad Quint. fr.* II. 10, 4. A. U. C. 709).

This is all the historical evidence we possess in regard to

¹ *Ad Atticum* XIII. 7, 1. *Sestius scribere, sibi certum esse Romae manere apud me fuit et THEOPOMPUS pridie; etc. venisse a Caesare narrabat litteras, hoc*

Theopompus. It does not look particularly interesting, or worthy of much attention; but in this case also inscribed stones have given as it were life and flesh to the poor skeleton of tradition. More than forty years ago, W. T. Hamilton published in *Researches in Asia Minor (Inscr. n. 287)* a Cnidian inscription, repeated by Lebas (*III. n. 1572*), which belonged to a statue of Gaius Julius Theopompus, son of Artemidorus. This was a private dedication to Apollo Karneios, by a friend Apollonios, who however, like Theopompus, had a Roman praenomen and gentilicium, *Μάαρκος Αἰφίκιος*, and was even the son of a *Μάαρκος*.¹

But this was not the only statue of Theopompus at Cnidus. Mr. Newton discovered and transferred to the British Museum a second stone, bearing the following inscription (*Hist. Discov. p. 711; n. 11*):

‘Ο Ἰουλιέων τῶν καὶ Λαοδικέων²
τῶν πρὸς θαλάσση τῆς ἱερᾶς
καὶ ἀσύλου καὶ αὐτονόμου Γάϊον
Ἰούλιον Ἀρτεμιδώρου υἱὸν Θεύπομ-
πον εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν

and in fact it is this document which, as belonging to my share in the inscriptions to be published for the British Museum, has led to the whole of this little inquiry.

A third inscription was found at Rhodes by M. Foucart: ³

ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίῳν
ἐτίμασε
Γάϊον Ἰούλιον
Θεύπομπον Ἀρτεμιδώρου
ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας
ἂν ἔχων διατελεῖ
εἰς τὸ πλήθος τὸ Ῥοδίῳν.

No doubt the Theopompus of the three inscriptions is the writer of myths and the friend of Caesar. Now we understand

¹ The form *Μάαρκος* was formerly regarded as pointing to a period between 620 and 680 A. U. C. But Mommsen has established the use of this form from the time of Hannibal to that of Augustus. *Ephem. Epigr.* I. 1872,

p. 286, foll.

² The word ὁ δᾶμος, which is wanted in line 1, must have been written on an upper part of the pedestal now lost.

³ *Revue archéologique*, 1866, xiii. p. 157, 9.

how he obtained the Roman citizenship through the interference of his powerful friend and therefore adopted the praenomen and nomen of his protector. In a like manner the grandfather of Pompeius Trogus had called himself after Pompeius (Justin, 43, 5, 11).

We may safely suppose, that the chance which has spared three inscriptions relative to the same man, did not spare all; but even so that vague expression of Strabo's *τῶν μεγάλα δυνάμενων* begins to have a more precise and significant look. The general relief accorded by Caesar (cp. above, Plut. *Caes.* cap. 48) seems to have been attributed—at least in part—to the interference of the well-known Cnidian Theopompus.¹ In fact these were services which could only be hinted at in such general terms as are found in the inscriptions. Laodicea proved a fervent adherent to Caesar's party even afterwards (cp. Dio Cass. XLVII. 30, *C. I. Gr.* 4470, 4471, Appian, *Bell. Civ.* V. 7).

So each of the great rivals had his Greek literary adherent: Pompeius his ill-famed Theophanes from Lesbos (see Mommsen, *R. Gesch.* III.⁵ S. 536), and Caesar his Theopompus from Cnidus. It is a remarkable fact that the memory of the latter should have been so long lost in oblivion:² over such a man as Caesar no one was likely to gain such an influence as over his weak antagonist Pompeius. Nevertheless it seems certain that Theopompus was in high favour with the greatest of Romans.

Moreover the relations of Theopompus or at least of his family with Caesar are kept up to the end. On the day of Caesar's death, according to some accounts, it was a certain Artemidorus from Cnidus who handed him the roll which contained the details of the conspiracy, only it was unfortunately not read by the dictator. Others relate that Artemidorus did his best to approach Caesar but could not force his way up to him (Plut. *Caes.* cap. 65, cp. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II. 116, Cass. Dio 44, 18).

Mr. Newton and M. Waddington, supposing Theopompus to have been a friend of Augustus, naturally assumed this Artemidorus to have been his father, as mentioned in the inscriptions.

¹ That he was very well known is proved too by the omission of the ethnic in the Rhodian inscription, in spite of his being a Cnidian and not a native of Rhodes. M. Foucart *l. l.* presumed

already that such services as we have traced had been performed by Theopompus.

² Even Drumann, as far as I can see, does not mention Theopompus.

But now I think there cannot be any doubt that he was rather Theopompus' son, who is mentioned by Strabo *l. l.* If we accept the words of Appian in a strict sense (*Bell. Civ.* II. 116 ὁ δ' ἐν Κνίδῳ γεγονὼς αὐτῷ (Καίσαρι) ξένος Ἀρτεμίδωρος) Caesar made his acquaintance during the short stay at Cnidus we supposed above, p. 287. Artemidorus was like his father a learned man, Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων σοφιστῆς (Plut. *Cæs.* cap. 65) and both were evidently men of the same class as their contemporaries at Lesbos, Theophanes, Lesbonax and Potamo (see Plehn, *Lesbiaca* pp. 211, 217-18; Strabo XIII. p. 617, Newton, *Discov.* p. 712).

Nor is there wanting epigraphical evidence for this ἀξιόλογος Κνίδιος of the time of Strabo. Once more, W. T. Hamilton found an inscription at Cnidus (*n.* 294) which was repeated by Lebas (III. *n.* 1572, *b*) and brought into the British Museum and republished by Mr. Newton (*Discov.* p. 766, *n.* 52). There Artemidorus while yet alive is honoured τιμαῖς ἰσοθέοις; a contest is to be celebrated every fifth year under the name Ἀρτεμιδώρεια, etc.¹ We may fairly assume that Augustus in this case as in so many others did not forget the adherence of Artemidorus to his uncle and that he favoured Cnidus for his sake as Caesar had favoured it before for the sake of his father.²

Thus all the scattered fragments of tradition fit easily together and constitute as it were a coherent picture.

Yet a century later in the time of the Emperor Trajan the Cnidians honoured members of this family, gratefully remembering at the same time the merits of their ancestors. Cp. Mr. Newton's *Discov.* p. 758, foll. *n.* 44, 45, 47-50. All these inscriptions I hope to lay again before the public in the fourth volume of the inscriptions of the British Museum.

GUSTAV HIRSCHFELD.

KÖNIGSBERG, PR.

¹ Mr. Dubois has published a mutilated inscription from Cnidus, which now exists in the island of Nisyros; it is not impossible that this part of a decree belongs too to our family. *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.* vii. p. 485.

² Mr. Newton found at Cnidus an inscription, where it is open to question whether the words τοῦ κατακτησαμένου . . . ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἀνισφορίαν refer to Theopompus or Artemidorus (*Discov.* p. 760, *n.* 47).

THE RHAPSODISING OF THE *ILIAD*.

SINCE the time of Wolf there has been one point in the 'higher criticism' of the Homeric poems on which all scholars have been agreed: it is that in the ninth century B.C. there was no reading public in Greece. Further, since the time of Wolf, the majority of critics have assumed, without attempting to prove, that a poem can be delivered orally only if it is short enough to be delivered at a single sitting; and that a longer poem is by its very length shown to have been designed for a reading public and not for oral delivery. No one maintains that the *Iliad*, as we have it, could be recited at a single sitting (except Buchholz, *Vindiciæ Carm. Hom.* I. 8). It follows therefore that the present shape of the *Iliad* is due to the demands of a reading public; and that if there was an *Iliad* at all in the ninth century, its length must have been such as was compatible with the conditions of an oral delivery. To account for the evolution of the *Iliad* as we have it, from a poem or poems short enough to be recited at a single sitting, various theories have been proposed. They may be distributed into two classes: theories of aggregation, and theories of expansion. According to the former class, the *Iliad* is an aggregation of lays or ballads, composed independently of each other by different poets, but related to the same subject, and exercising a natural attraction on each other. The theory of aggregation is based on the analogy of what was supposed, but is now denied, to have occurred in the history of other literatures; it is not based on a study of the conditions under which literature developed in the earliest Greek times. According to the expansion theory which has now almost completely ousted the aggregation theory, the story of the Wrath of Achilles was originally told in a short form; but the plot was so simple and so

elastic that it admitted, almost invited, the interpolation of fresh incidents by the successive generations of poets who recited and transmitted it. The expansionists therefore have set to work to remove these incrustations, and to lay before us the *Wrath* in its original purity of outline, just as the aggregationists before them undertook to dissect the *Iliad* into its constituent lays. But though the original justification for both processes, that of dissection and that of restoration, was the necessity of reducing the *Iliad* to the limits assumed to be set by oral delivery, yet both aggregationists and expansionists have been much less concerned to prove the truth of their initial assumption, than they have to insist on the confirmation which their theories find in the inconsistencies and inconsequences discernible in the *Iliad* as we have it.

Now out of the *Iliad* to carve a poem, an admirable poem, which shall be capable of recitation at a single sitting, is easy. Every investigator produces a new *Iliad*, and all are admirable poems. Each new and original *Iliad* is intended to explain the inconsistencies in the *Iliad* as we have it, and each succeeds in persuading only its author that it is a satisfactory explanation. In fact, the inconsistencies in the *Iliad* are as fatal to every form of the expansion theory as they are to any shape which the doctrine of unity has assumed; and if many scholars still adhere to the theory of expansion, it is not because any form of the theory accounts for the discrepancies in the *Iliad*, nor because the expansionists show any signs of reaching an agreement amongst themselves, but because of the assumption that the original *Iliad* must have been a much shorter poem than the *Iliad* is as we have it.

As the assumption of an originally short poem seems, after long trial, to bring us no nearer the solution of the important problem, How to account for the discrepancies? it would seem to be time to try some other base for the investigation; and if this has not been done before it is because the upholders of the unity of the *Iliad* have hitherto contented themselves with the sterile policy of negative criticism. They have been content to prove that there is no evidence to show that Pisistratus organised an originally accidental aggregation of independent lays into a readable whole; or to demonstrate that there is nothing in the structure of the language of the poems to indicate that

their origin was recent. And they have satisfied themselves with insisting on the harmonies and denying the discrepancies in the *Iliad*, until it has come to be believed that on the theory of unity discrepancies do not admit of explanation. Yet the activity of the rhapsodists must have been almost as great, according to the theory of unity, as it was according to the theory of expansion. But whereas the expansionists have at least endeavoured to demonstrate that the discrepancies in the *Iliad* are explained by their view of the rhapsodists, the adherents to the doctrine of unity have made no attempt, I believe, to show how their conception of the activity of the rhapsodists will account for inconsistencies and inconsequences. It would seem therefore to be time not only to show that the failure of the expansionists is due to the falsity of their initial assumption, but also to show that the right assumption leads to an explanation—not a bare denial—of real discrepancies.

To Prof. Paley belongs the credit of having first demonstrated that if the *Iliad* at its present length could only have been put together for a reading public, it cannot date from before B.C. 420, for that it was only about that date a reading public came into existence in Greece. The composition therefore of a poem having the length of the *Iliad* could not have been incompatible with the condition of oral delivery. Now unfortunately most writers on the Homeric question have written as though the oral delivery of Homer were something unique, whereas no other means of publication was known in the classical period of Greek literature. I have argued at length elsewhere (*History of Greek Literature*, pp. 41–53, 159, 384, 396, 492), that it is by this fact alone that we can understand the evolution of Greek literature; it will be enough here for me to point out that where oral delivery is the sole means of publication, the form taken by literature varies with the occasion and place in which an audience can be got together. The size of the audience too affects, indirectly, the length of the work recited. A small audience, such as that formed by the household of a Homeric chieftain, may easily be the same from night to night, and a tale begun one evening may be continued on the next. A large audience is either assembled at long intervals, as was the case with the festivals at which Greek tragedies were produced; or if assembled more frequently, as was the Assembly,

does not consist of the same people: in either case the work produced must be begun and finished at a sitting.

Now whoever gave the *Iliad* its present shape and length did so, as all scholars have seen since Wolf pointed it out, because there was a demand for a long poem. In the time of the rhapsodists there was no such demand. The audiences to which rhapsodists recited were large, and the festivals at which they recited were held at rare intervals. Further the time of the rhapsodists falls in the period of Lyric poetry; and in that period the conditions under which literature was produced admitted only of the production of short works, as is shown by the length of lyric poems. Rhapsodists have not yet been traced earlier than the sixth century: the Lyric period commences at least as early as the beginning of the seventh century B.C.

The only period in the history of Greek literature when an audience existed of the nature postulated by the production of the *Iliad* as we have it, was the epic period—the period of the earliest audience known, which is the family. In those days there were no rhapsodists. So before rhapsodists existed, the *Iliad* was.

‘But this only shows that the work of interpolation was completed before the time of the rhapsodists.’ Be it so: it is something to be rid of the false assumption that we must at all costs prove that the *Iliad* was originally a short poem. ‘But it *may* have been originally a short poem.’ True; and so may the *Aeneid*, but there is nothing in the external conditions under which either epic was produced to lead us to think that the poem was originally short and subsequently expanded. The expansionist position can only be rested now on the internal evidence afforded by the *Iliad*. The question is whether the bare discrepancies in the *Iliad*, deprived of the support of the false assumption that the *Iliad* cannot originally have been of its present length, need, to account for them, any hypothesis not equally applicable to the discrepancies in the *Aeneid*. To say, No, is simply to withdraw from the discussion. To say, Yes, seems to be abandoning the unity of the *Iliad*. This is not the case however.

The external history of the *Iliad* differs from that of the *Aeneid*, and admits of different hypotheses. While on the one hand the history of the *Iliad* admits, and that of the *Aeneid*

does not admit, of the hypothesis that the poem may indeed be the work of more than one poet; on the other hand the *Iliad* for some considerable time was rhapsodised, the *Æneid* not. Before then resorting to the assumption (which has no external support) that the *Iliad* has been expanded from a short original poem, we are bound to consider how far the rhapsodising of the *Iliad*—a *vera causa*—will account for the difficulties which every explanation has to account for.

Even in Germany and among expansionists of a determined stamp the importance of the part played by the rhapsodists is beginning to assert itself. Christ (*Iliadis carmina*, Leipzig, 1884) and Fick (*Homeriche Ilias*, Göttingen, 1886) though both expansionists, and bitterly opposed to each other, both find themselves compelled to make large allowances for the action of the rhapsodists. Christ, abandoning the Alexandrian division of the *Iliad* into twenty-four books, has reverted to the division into rhapsodies as indicated by the Greek titles prefixed to each book. Fick ascribes to a rhapsodist the metamorphosis of the originally Achæan *Iliad* into its present Ionic form. Fick's demonstration of Ritschl's conjecture that the *Iliad* was originally composed in the Achæan—or Aeolian—dialect, and only subsequently metamorphosed into Ionic, has been scouted in Germany as too revolutionary. But the revolution will, I apprehend, be found to be of the most conservative description. It will throw down many fanciful theories; but it will only strengthen the true doctrine of the unity of the *Iliad*, for although Fick himself supports the expansionist theory, his great discovery does not. The test of language which Fick's discovery supplies proves nothing to be spurious which the defenders of an indivisible *Iliad* had not already rejected: where Fick himself rejects other passages it is on other than linguistic grounds. But further the new light with which Fick has illumined the whole Homeric question reveals, as I hope to show, fresh strength in the position of the conservative critics.

It will be convenient to here state Fick's position—briefly οὐ γὰρ δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσι. The story of the original *Iliad* was a story about Achæans and was originally told to Achæans in the Achæan dialect. The Achæans and the Aeolians are identical; Ἀιολῆς : Αἰὼς :: Ἀργολῆς : Ἀργος,

and Ἀχαιός : Αἰός :: Ἀσσύριος : Σύρος. Aeolic as we know it from inscriptions is essentially identical with, though younger than, the Achæan in which the *Iliad* was originally composed. In the sixth century B.C. the *Iliad* was Ionicised, *i.e.* wherever the metre allowed, Ionic forms displaced the corresponding Aeolic forms. Thus the Aeolic forms Ἀτρεΐδας, Ἀτρεΐδαν were displaced by the metrically equivalent Ionic forms Ἀτρεΐδης, Ἀτρειδην: but the Aeolic Ἀτρειδάων could not be displaced by the Ionic Ἀτρειδέων, because of the metre. So too νύμφα was displaced by νύμφη, but θεά had to be left because in Ionic there was no θεή (they said ἡ θεός). In the verb, the Aeolic forms were displaced by the metrically equivalent Ionic forms: but the Aeolic infinitives in -μεναι, -μεν were metrically fixed, and φορήμεναι, for instance, could not be displaced by φορέειν. Now whereas the *Iliad* is studded with metrically fixed Aeolisms, metrically fixed Ionisms only occur in lines rejected as spurious even by conservative critics. In other words metrically fixed Aeolisms prove that the passages in which they occur were originally composed in Aeolic: metrically fixed Ionisms prove the lines in which they occur to have been originally composed in Ionic.

The date at which the *Iliad* was Ionicised has also been discovered by Fick. In the *Iliad* we find the Aeolic form λαός still surviving. If the *Iliad* had been Ionicised at a time when the metrically equivalent ληός was in use, ληός would have displaced λαός: on the other hand if the *Iliad* was Ionicised at a time when the old Ionic ληός had been driven out of use and out of memory by the later Ionic form λεώς, we can understand how it was that the Aeolic form λαός was left untouched. Now the latest author whom we can trace using ληός is Hipponax, B.C. 540. The *Iliad* therefore was Ionicised after B.C. 540. Further: Ionic lyric poets before B.C. 500 composed in pure Ionic. After B.C. 500 we find them using Aeolic forms side by side with Ionic forms in a way which could scarcely have been suggested by anything but the mixture of forms which was the result of Ionicising the *Iliad*.

That the *Iliad* was originally composed in Aeolic and was Ionicised at the end of the sixth century B.C., Fick seems to me to have proved conclusively. The proof is purely linguistic and absolutely independent of the expansionist or any other theory.

But Fick is an expansionist and tries to press his great discovery into the service of the expansionists: with what success I do not propose here to inquire. It is only necessary to point out that on any theory the Ionicising of the *Iliad* was the work of the rhapsodists.

Fick indeed, falling into the common expansionist error that a rhapsodist recited the whole twenty-four books of the *Iliad* straight through one after the other, maintains that the *Iliad* was Ionicised by one single rhapsodist for one single definite festival. But the conditions under which the rhapsodists recited were those which governed the production of all literature in the Lyric period: they admitted only of short recitations. The nature of the extracts from Homer, which the rhapsodists recited, we can learn from the 'rhapsodies' indicated by the Greek titles prefixed to each book of the *Iliad*, e.g. *Διομήδους ἀριστεία*, *Ἔκτορος καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης ὁμιλία*, κ.τ.λ. The rhapsodists chose for recitation such incidents as could be readily detached, were interesting in themselves, and did not take too long to recite. That the rhapsodists recited only extracts and not the whole of the poem, may be inferred from the *Homeric Hymns*. These *Hymns* are a collection of the invocations with which the rhapsodists precluded their recitations. The practice seems to have been for the rhapsodist to first pay his reverence to the god, at whose festival the recitation was being given, and then proceed with his 'rhapsody.' Thus 'the hymn to Artemis (ix.), in which Apollo is mentioned, was probably in use at the festival held in honour of the two deities at Claros, near Colophon,' *History of Greek Literature*, p. 73 (cf. H. H. ix. 5, ἐς Κλάρων ἀμπελόεσσαν); and the rhapsodist concludes his invocation of the local deity by saying,

σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον,

where the 'other lay' is obviously a 'rhapsody' from Homer. But a good many of these invocations end with a different formula: the rhapsodist concludes his invocation by saying to the local deity,

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

I have never seen this formula explained by anybody: and I think it can only be explained on the assumption that the

rhapsodists recited extracts from and not the whole of the *Iliad*. The plain meaning of the words is that the local deity will figure in the recitation from Homer which the rhapsodist is about to deliver. Now if the rhapsodist were going to recite the whole of the *Iliad*, it would be a cheap compliment for him to assure the local deity that he or she would be found to be mentioned sooner or later somewhere in the *Iliad*. The formula is only intelligible if we suppose that the rhapsodist has resolved to select some portion of the *Iliad* in which the local deity is the principal or a prominent figure. Thus the invocation of Athene (xi. or xxviii.) is pointless if we suppose it intended as an introduction to the whole of the *Iliad*, but is specially appropriate as an introduction to E and Z 1-311, which formed as we know a separate rhapsody, the *Διομήδους ἀριστεία*, and in which Athene figures prominently. So too the invocation of Hephaestus, H. H. xx., is appropriate to the *Shield* but not to the whole *Iliad*.

Sometimes the rhapsodist found himself in the unfortunate position of being about to recite at the festival of some deity not mentioned in Homer. The only course open to him, in such a case, if he was bent at all costs on paying the customary compliment to the local deity, was to insert a reference to the god or goddess of the festival as judiciously as he could. For instance, in the *Διομήδους ἀριστεία*, which seems to have been a favourite rhapsody, we find a passage, Z 130-141, descriptive of the worship of Dionysos, which sober critics have regarded as spurious and which extreme critics have regarded as proving the late origin of the whole rhapsody. But neither class of critics has explained why a reference to Dionysos should have been inserted, or what motive the interpolator had. Yet the obvious explanation is that the rhapsodist, who composed the invocation to Dionysos (H. H. xxvi.), not finding any allusion to the god in the *Iliad* or in the *Odyssey* (Ξ 325, λ 325 and ω 74, are too inconsiderable and are probably spurious also), proceeded to insert these verses of his own composition. And this seems all the more probable because of the points of resemblance between Z 130-141 and H. H. xxvi.

Critics are almost unanimous in rejecting T 90-136 as an obvious interpolation; and I conjecture that this unseasonable celebration of the birth of Heracles is the work of the rhapsodist

who composed the invocation of Heracles (H. II. xv.), and recited apparently at Thebes. As Heracles was not referred to in Homer (λ 601 is unanimously condemned), the rhapsodist inserted a reference. The reference in the *Odyssey* (λ 300) to the Dioseuri was probably inserted in the same way by the author of H. II. xxxiii. Whether the references in B to the Muses (484 and 594) point to a late date for their insertion or not, the invocation of the Muses (H. II. xxv.) was evidently composed as a prelude to the Catalogue, which was naturally a favourite rhapsody recited in many different cities and particularly exposed to interpolations which the rhapsodist thought likely to gratify his audience. The connection between the Hymn and the Catalogue is shown by the Boeotian origin of the Hymn (which belongs to the Hesiodic school of poetry, cf. l. 1 with Hes. *Theog.* 1, 2–5 with *ib.* 94–97, and 6 with *ib.* 104), and the Boeotian colouring of the Catalogue.

Rhapsodists did not confine themselves to interpolating references to the gods at whose festivals they recited. They were under the temptation to interpolate legends of local heroes, if those heroes did not happen to already have a place in the *Iliad*, or to expand the legends if the heroes were mentioned. A clear case of expansion of this kind is found in T 213–250; in this passage Aeneas is made to claim a position of equality with Hector; there is almost a reference to the sovereignty which Aeneas according to some legends was to exercise over Troy: and this exaltation of Aeneas, the son of Aphrodite, was accordingly in all probability designed for the gratification of an audience who worshipped Aphrodite as their patron local goddess. This seems to be confirmed by the references to Aeneas in the *Hymn* to Aphrodite (cf. especially H. II. iv. 196–7 with T 242–3), which was composed for an audience in Cyprus.

The *Hymn* to Aphrodite and all allusions to Cyprian legends are particularly interesting because of the light which they throw on the linguistic history of the *Iliad*. As the *Iliad* was Ionicised by the rhapsodists, and as they recited the *Iliad* piece-meal and not as a whole, they must have Ionicised it piece-meal also. A rhapsodist reciting from Homer at an Ionic festival, such as the festival of the Delian Apollo for which H. II. i. was composed, would in the first place take care to

select a rhapsody in which Apollo played the leading part, say A, which was certainly recited by itself under the title of *Mḥ̃vis*. In the next place he would Ionicise the original Aeolic, *i.e.* would substitute Ionic forms and words for Aeolic, wherever the metre allowed. Thus in course of time the whole *Iliad* would become Ionicised.

But rhapsodists recited at other than Ionic festivals, and to other than Ionian audiences: and if they adapted the dialect of the poem to their audience in one case they probably did in all cases. And this I venture to think actually did happen. We know from the *Hymns* to Aphrodite, iv. and x., that recitations were given by rhapsodists in Cyprus at Salamis. We have seen that T 213–250 is probably an interpolation made to gratify a Cyprian audience. And H. H. iv. was originally composed in Cyprian, though now Ionicised. If then rhapsodies, such as the *Mḥ̃vis*, which were commonly chosen for the Ionic festivals of the Delian Apollo, were Ionicised for the benefit of the Ionic audience; then we should expect those rhapsodies which would probably be chosen for the festivals of Aphrodite in Cyprus to be Cyprianised. Now the Cyprian dialect is closely allied to Aeolic; but there is one word which we know on the authority of inscriptions was peculiar to Cyprian and was not in use in Aeolic or any other dialect. The word is *Fιδέ*. Wherever therefore *Fιδέ* is metrically fixed the line at least in which it occurs is probably of Cyprian origin. Fick indeed almost regards one *Fιδέ* as enough to prove the Cyprian origin and authorship of the whole book in which it occurs. To such lengths does the expansion-theory carry its adherents. It seems more reasonable however to regard these metrically fixed Cyprianisms in the same light as Fick himself regards metrically fixed Ionisms, and for the same reasons. Metrically fixed Ionisms are in a minority as compared with metrically fixed Aeolisms, and therefore indicate only that the rhapsody has undergone an Ionic redaction, not that it is of Ionic origin. So too *Fιδέ* indicates a Cyprian redaction of the rhapsody in which it occurs.

Fιδέ does not often occur in the *Iliad*, and it is only, as far as I can make out, certain in eight places. Three of these occur in the Catalogue, B 511, 585, 697: and this does not surprise us, for the Catalogue as I have said before was recited in many

different places, and is likely to show in its language the traces of the linguistic metamorphoses through which it must have gone. Two instances of *ῥιδέ* occur in the *Διὸς ἀπάτη* (Ξ 165, 175), a rhapsody which from the part played in it by Aphrodite would be frequently chosen by rhapsodists to recite in Cyprus. The favourite rhapsody, *Διομήδους ἀριστεία*, seems to have been recited at Cyprus as well as at other places, for we find *ῥιδέ* in E 171, in a passage we may note in which Aeneas figures prominently. The other two places in which *ῥιδέ* is metrically certain are Σ 589, in the *Shield of Achilles*, and in T 285. As for the latter passage it contains a reference to Aphrodite: on the former we may form some opinion, if we compare the beginning of Λ. In Λ 15 *ῥιδέ* is not metrically certain but is probably genuine, for the passage must have been appreciated in Cyprus, as it not only contains a reference to Tithonus, a Cyprian hero, but also to that imitation of *lapis lazuli*, *κύανος*, for which Cyprus was famous. In Cyprus, 'the home of copper,' also interest would be taken in the working of metals and therefore in the making of the shield of Achilles.

If, as I have argued, rhapsodies recited to a Cyprian audience were Cyprianised just as those recited to an Ionic audience were Ionicised, the linguistic vicissitudes of the *Iliad* form an interesting and somewhat complicated chapter in the history of the Homeric poems. Originally Aeolic, some rhapsodies were first Cyprianised and then Ionicised. And the process of metamorphosis probably did not stop there. The Ionic into which the rhapsodists metamorphosed what they recited was the Ionic of their own day, as is shown by the fact that they left unchanged the Aeolic *λαός*, because the Ionic form *ληός*, though metrically equivalent, was no longer in common use. Consequently, as Ionic changed, the rhapsodists accordingly, I conjecture, modified what they recited; and thus the later rhapsodists introduced later linguistic forms. For instance, in K 121 the original Aeolic *μετίηι* was left untouched by the early Ionic rhapsodists because the metre did not allow *μεθήησι* to displace it. But when *μεθιεῖ* came into use, the later rhapsodists naturally substituted *μεθιεῖ* for *μετίηι*: and now *μεθιεῖ* is quoted as evidence for the late origin of the book in

which it occurs. To condemn a whole book as late on linguistic grounds is evidently a process which craves wary walking. While Dr. Monro says of the *Δολωνεία* that 'the language shows exceptionally numerous traces of later formation,' Fick says, 'Clumsy Ionisms are not common, and as a rule occur in those parts which on other grounds show themselves to be late interpolations.' When we find these authorities agree in condemning a passage, though on different grounds, as they do *e.g.* in 211-217, 252-3, 396-399, we can cheerfully let the passage go. But these cases of agreement are few: and the passages thus condemned are not more numerous in the *Δολωνεία* than in any average book.

If then it is as yet premature to condemn whole books on linguistic evidence, the expansionists must for the present rest their case on the inconsequences and discrepancies to be found in the *Iliad*. But some certainly of these discrepancies can be explained as due to the rhapsodising of the *Iliad*. A certain number are due to the habit rhapsodists had of rounding off their recitation by a few lines which wound up their extract very well, but which, if read as part of the continuous text, cause much confusion (see Christ, p. 8). Examples are: A 611, Δ 543, Z 311, M 175-181, N 345-360, P 400-423, Σ 354-368, Φ 227. Christ points out (p. 46) a good instance of the confusion thus wrought. In E 575-579 Pylaemenes is killed by Menelaus; but in N 656-659 Pylaemenes ignores this trivial incident and takes an active part in his son's funeral. The explanation is that N 656-659 were inserted by some rhapsodist who thought they would make an effective finish to the extract (N 330-655) which he had selected to recite before a Cretan audience.

Another class of inconsistencies can, I venture to think, be referred to the habit rhapsodists had of inserting a line or two to recall or to explain to their audience features in the story necessary for the comprehension of the extract. These insertions may only take the form of redundancies, but they may also be introduced in such a way as to make the rhapsody in which they occur apparently inconsistent with the rest of the poem. As an instance of the former I will take Θ 371-2. They were athetized by Zenodotus and Aristarchus as superfluous, and no

one defends them. But no one explains why they were ever inserted. For an audience that had just heard the preceding books they are superfluous. But for an audience assembled to hear only the *Κόλος μάχη*, in which the insertion occurs, the lines are not superfluous. They recall the situation which is presupposed though not depicted in the rhapsody.

An instance of an explanatory inconsistency is to be found in Ξ 30-40, a passage which a rhapsodist reciting the *Ἀπάτη Διός* may well have introduced in order to sketch in the scenery; but the passage is inconsistent with the rest of the *Iliad*, for it supposes the wall to have been built at the beginning of the war. Another instance is *II* 69-86. This passage is well enough adapted to paint in the background of the *Πατροκλεία*, and was, I suggest, inserted by a rhapsodist wishing to make his extract complete in itself. But the passage is inconsistent with the rest of the *Iliad*, and the expansionists have accordingly made much capital out of it, as also out of Ξ 30-40.

For these inconsistencies the expansion theory offers no satisfactory explanation. The first business of an interpolator is to make his interpolations harmonise with the rest of the poem. The sole concern of the rhapsodist was to make his extract explain itself: and consequently, if by the insertion of a few lines his extract could be effectively introduced or concluded or made self-explaining, his immediate object was attained. That an incident—rhapsody or book—is now easily detachable proves only that it was frequently detached for recitation, not that it originally had an existence independent of the *Iliad*, still less that it is an interpolation. The fragments of rock which are detached by the sea from the Permian cliffs on the Durham coast, are by the sea so polished and rounded and brought to resemble the curious concretions in the rock itself, that their appearance suggests the erroneous theory that the cliff was originally made out of them, not they out of the cliff. So, too, the episodes detached from the *Iliad* by the rhapsodists have been so rounded off by the action of the rhapsodists, that it has been found possible to imagine that the *Iliad* was originally made out of rhapsodies, not they out of the *Iliad*. If the theory of the aggregationists, that the *Iliad* is an agglomeration of originally independent lays, is thus the

precise reverse of what really happened, it is because they have started from an assumption which is precisely the reverse of the actual truth. They have started from the assumption that early epics must have been short, and only late epics could be long, whereas a study of the conditions under which Greek literature was produced proves conclusively that only in the earliest period was the composition of long poems possible, while the later periods permitted of nothing but short recitations.

As the expansion theory is based on the same false assumption as is that of the aggregationists, we may expect to find that the expansionists also have been led to exactly reverse what really took place. Christ has pointed out, and Mr. Leaf agrees with him, that a rhapsodist, having time to recite more than one book, but not time enough to recite the whole *Iliad*, would select such portions as together gave an outline of the plot—precisely as modern critics do when they undertake to show that the essence of the *Iliad* may be condensed into a length compatible with recitation at a single sitting. And I would add that probably such success as expansionists have had in constructing ‘original’ *Iliads* of this kind is due to the fact that they have unearthed the old workings of the rhapsodists before them. Here, however, I wish to point out that some of the discrepancies in the *Iliad* can, as I think, be explained by the action of the rhapsodists in thus abbreviating the *Iliad* for purposes of recitation.

Any trifling alterations which the rhapsodist found necessary in order to make his extracts follow smoothly on one another he would make unhesitatingly. But these very alterations would mar the original sequence; and if left in the text would give rise to discrepancies such as are found in the *Iliad* as we have it. For instance, Fick maintains that all the books between B 47 and A 57 have been interpolated into an original Μῆνις which knew nothing of them; and Mr. Leaf believes that he has found a confirmation of the fact in the real meaning of the words ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πειδίῳ in A 56. Assuming that Mr. Leaf’s interpretation is correct, we must admit that A 56 cannot be in place where it now is; it is wholly inconsistent with the position which the Trojans ought (according to our *Iliad*) to be

occupying. But the explanation is that A 56 is just the slight alteration which a rhapsodist would make who wished to proceed from say B 483 to A 57.

A more important instance of the confusion caused by a rhapsodist's abbreviation of the *Iliad* I have found I think in B. In that book Zeus sends a delusive dream to Agamemnon, encouraging him to make a grand attack upon the Trojans. Full of confidence Agamemnon calls a meeting of his men and proposes with every sign of dejection to at once flee home. The inconsequence is extreme. And it is not mended by the fact that Agamemnon has previously explained privately to the chiefs that he is going to 'test' the Achaeans; for he so confidently and correctly anticipates the result of the test, that he instructs the chiefs to prevent the men from acting on his proposal. Here, if anywhere, we seem to have the work of different hands confounded together. The inconsistencies seem to be radical; the discrepancies to be discrepancies of conception not of expression. The unbounded confidence of Agamemnon in the *Ὀνειρος* is irreconcilable with his extreme dejection in the *Διάπειρα*. Above all, Agamemnon's confidence in the delusive dream is utterly at variance with his proposal to flee, which is wholly unintelligible as a means of calling the Achaeans to arms, or as a manœuvre for delivering a general attack upon Troy. The critics who sneer at mere athetesis will hardly find in the whole *Iliad* a better case for disintegration than this. Unfortunately, however, for the expansionists, their theory of interpolation breaks down at this point. It is impossible to imagine that a poet capable of producing the *Διάπειρα* would not have worked it in better than it stands now. The theory accordingly has been started that the author of the *Διάπειρα* never did intend it to be worked in thus: but that it was intended to be an alternative to the *Ὀνειρος*, and has been stupidly combined with the *Ὀνειρος* by a later hand. This theory, however, is rebutted by the fact that there is a clear allusion to the *Ὀνειρος* in the *Διάπειρα* (B 436, ἔργον ὃ δὴ θεὸς ἐγγυαλίζει).

The solution, therefore, if any, and whatever it is, cannot be found in separating the *Ὀνειρος* from the *Διάπειρα*. If the latter is retained the former must also be retained; and the

function of the dream in the economy of the epic is obvious to all. That the vacillating Agamemnon, who is always ready to despair and to run away, should choose the moment of Achilles' defection to do what for nine years, even with the aid of Achilles, he had not succeeded in doing, viz., engage the Trojans, would be wholly incomprehensible, if it were not for the *"Ονειρος*. The first book, the *"Ονειρος*, and the *Διάπειρα* hang together. The problem then is: given these three factors, to harmonise them. The solution is to athetize B 35-41.

Rhapsodists, I conjecture, anxious to get on to the fighting, and perhaps not caring to recite the Thersites scene to democratic audiences, were in the habit of skipping the *Διάπειρα*, and, in some cases, of proceeding at once to the *ἀριστεία* of Agamemnon in A. In order to smooth and explain the transition from B 34 to A 15, the rhapsodist inserted B 35-41, lines (the only lines) which represent Agamemnon as confidently believing in the dream. The sequence thus obtained was extremely effective. But we need not dwell on it. We are more immediately concerned to see the effect on B of athetizing B 35-41. Omitting those lines, the only lines in B, I repeat, to show that Agamemnon puts the least trust in the dream, we have the following state of affairs. Agamemnon, in despair at the defection of Achilles (this is shown by B 375-380), is visited by a dream assuring him of complete success, and ordering him to attack in full force; he relates the dream to the chiefs, who do not seem to think much of it (80, εἰ μὲν τις τὸν ὄνειρον Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐνισπεν, | ψεῦδός κεν φαῖμεν καὶ νοσφιζοίμεθα μᾶλλον), and proposes to the Achaeans to run away. If on this any one should remark that it leaves the fundamental discrepancy of conception untouched—that only a man with a theory to maintain would find it tolerable that Agamemnon should wholly disregard the dream in this way, I should not be surprised. Nor do I think I should improve matters were I to reply that, if having a theory to maintain constituted a disqualification, every one competent to judge—and therefore my objector—would be ruled out of court. I propose, therefore, instead to call a witness who is competent, and who, as far as we know, is not subject to the disqualification mentioned.

'The seventh Book of Herodotus,' says Grote, 'reminds us in

many points of the second Book of the *Iliad*. . . . The dream sent by the gods to frighten Xerxes when about to recede from his project' has 'a marked parallel in the *Iliad*.' Let us follow it further than did Grote. Agamemnon after the defection of Achilles, as Xerxes after the defection of Artabanus, was 'about to recede from his project.' To both a delusive dream is sent urging them to proceed. Day dawns, Xerxes calls a meeting, and announces that he has resolved not to proceed. In the other case, Agamemnon at break of day calls a meeting, and proposes to retreat. Xerxes says nothing of his dream. Nor does Agamemnon (in the ἀγορά). Wherein do the two cases differ? Is it that Herodotus expressly says of Xerxes, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμφάσης οὐείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποίητο, while in Homer there is nothing to correspond with this? A single line would suffice, and may easily have been displaced by the interpolated lines B 35-41.

There remains a difficulty—the βουλή (B 53-85). It is here that Agamemnon announces his intention of 'testing' the Achaeans—which seems to show that he had not finally made up his mind to give up his expedition, as had Xerxes. Agamemnon relates his dream to the chiefs, and then says: We might try to call the men to arms, but first I will in the usual way 'test them with words.' What he means by 'the usual way,' ἡ θέμις ἐστίν, is more than all the commentators together have succeeded in making out. I may be excused, therefore, for venturing to suggest that the 'usual' thing was to submit any big question—such as 'fight or fly?'—to the assembled Achaeans for their decision. Neither Agamemnon nor the chiefs put much trust in the dream, and they agree to be guided rather by the decision of the men than by the dream. If the men decide to retreat, the dream drops; if to remain, the dream comes into operation.

The only objection to this view is to be found in B 75, which looks as though Agamemnon had made up his mind—this time to stay. But as the majority of critics have long decided to reject it, the objection is not fatal.

In conclusion, we do know on good external evidence that the *Iliad* was rhapsodised. We do not know, and there is no external evidence of any description which leads us to suppose,

that the *Iliad* was ever expanded. In the 'higher criticism,' as in other investigations, the scientific mode of procedure is to exhaust the consequences of a *vera causa* before having recourse to the action of causes purely hypothetical. As modifying the *Iliad*, and producing inconsequences and inconsistencies in it, the rhapsodists are a *vera causa*; expanders and diaskeuasts are not.

F. B. JEVONS.

THE LOMBARDS AND VENETIANS IN EUBOIA.

(1205—1303.)

§ 1. *Introductory.* The history of Eubœia during its occupation by the Latins is, according to Mr. Freeman, 'the most perplexed part of the perplexed Greek history of the time.'¹ If we turn for information on the subject to Finlay, our one English authority on the period, we find no attempt at a consecutive account of it, merely some allusions; the history of Negroponte is a missing chapter in Finlay, which the present paper is an attempt to supply. It is also hoped that it will help to clear up some of the perplexities which beset the subject.

Before Hopf the history of this island was almost a blank. Historical investigations concerning the Franks in Romania may be divided into three periods, represented by Ducange in the seventeenth century, Buchon 1825—1846, and Hopf 1850—1870. Buchon's publication of the *Βιβλίον τῆς κουγκέστας*² (with which Ducange indeed had become acquainted, but not until his *Histoire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs français* had been published), his discovery of the *Livre de la Conquête* in Brussels, the new documents, treaties and diplomas, which he brought to light, opened a new era and stimulated a fresh study of the 'perplexed' history. Nothing was required now but German diligence and exhaustiveness to ransack archives and fill up the gaps, and German accuracy to correct the slips made by that *französische Nonchalance* of which Hopf says even Buchon was occasionally (*stellenweise*) guilty.

¹ *Historical Geography*, p. 423.

² A good account of the Greek chronicle and its language will be found in Mr. H. F. Tozer's interesting

article 'The Franks in the Peloponnese,' *Hellenic Journal*, iv., p. 165, sqq.

Nec mora longa fuit. The first and only volume of the last work of Buchon was published in 1846; and the third period may be dated from the *Sitzung* of the Vienna Academy on the second of October 1850, at which two Bavarian professors, Tafel and Thomas, were present. Tafel read a paper on the MSS. relating to Venice in the Imperial Archives on which he and his colleague were engaged; and Thomas read the Greek text and a translation of the remarkable treaty of Michael Palaiologos with Venice in 1265. Just three years later a paper read before the same assembly (October 19, 1853) made it quite evident that a new mine of sources for mediæval Greek history had been opened, namely Karl Hopf's *Urkundliche Mittheilungen über die Geschichte von Karystos auf Euböa, 1205-1470*.¹ The *Geschichte der Insel Andros* which followed in 1855, and the *Veneto-byzantinische Analekten* in 1859 justified natural expectations and proved the competence of the explorer. The *Liber Albus*, the *Acta Pactorum*, *Libri Misti* and *Libri Commemoriæ* were searched and gave up their dead—the forgotten lords especially of the Aegean islands. Who knew anything of the *Cornari of Skarpanto* or the *Navigajosi of Lemnos* until Hopf unearthed their history? Hopf followed up his successes and ransacked many libraries in Southern Europe, in Palermo for example and Malta; the voluminous *Registri Angioini* at Naples yielded a copious supply of new facts. In 1867 the *Griechische Geschichte* appeared, and it was a greater advance on Buchon than Buchon had been on Ducange. The lost history of the Greek islands was recovered; the existence of the Teutonic order and power of the Navarrese company in Achaia were new facts. To comprehend the amount of progress that Hopf made, it is only necessary to compare the paragraphs devoted to Negroponte in *Recherches et Matériaux* with the Essay on *Karystos*; and again if we compare the Essay on *Karystos* with the corresponding portions of the *Griechische Geschichte* we shall see how much Hopf's later is superior to his earlier work in mere knowledge of facts.

This paper relies mainly on Hopf whose history is so detailed and complete that it may almost be used as if it were an original source.

¹ In 1856 an Italian translation by G. B. Sardagna appeared, with ad-

ditions and changes by the author. I have not been able to procure a copy.

I divide the history of Eubœia from 1205–1470 into three periods :

I. 1205–1262 ; the Lombards are paramount in Eubœia and the overlordship of the Prince of Achaïa is undisputed.

II. 1262–1385 ; Venetian influence grows and is finally paramount : the overlordship of Prince of Achaïa is merely nominal.

III. 1385–1470 ; undisputed domination of Venice.

These periods are further subdivided.

I.

(1205–1262.)

§ 2. *Partition of the Eastern Empire.* In the anticipatory partition of 1204 Eubœia was included in the three-eighths of the empire which fell to the share of Venice. It will be remembered that by that act three-eighths were assigned to the Crusaders, three-eighths to Venice and one-fourth to the emperor whoever should be elected. But after the capture of Constantinople and the election of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, certain circumstances interfered and prevented the actual partition of the empire which ensued from resembling the paper partition which had been designed beforehand. One circumstance was the peculiar position of Bonifacio, Marquis of Montferrat, the unsuccessful candidate for the imperial throne, who was too ambitious and too powerful to be treated as one of the rank and file of the crusaders. The other circumstance was the fact that Venice, not having an army available, did not take immediate steps to enter into possession of the territories which had been assigned to her. The situation was perplexed further by a Bulgarian war.

By the act of partition Boniface was assigned the Asiatic provinces of the empire. After Baldwin's election he proposed that in lieu of this he should receive Thessalonica and the surrounding territory with the title of king. It would not have been safe for Baldwin to refuse at this juncture, though he apprehended danger to his new empire in Boniface's proposal, which was soon confirmed by his disinclination to do homage

for the kingdom. It became evident that Boniface designed to organise a Lombard kingdom independent of the empire.

§ 3. *Compact of Adrianople.* The transaction which took place at Adrianople in August 1204,¹ between Boniface and the Republic of St. Mark gives a further clue to Boniface's wide-reaching designs. It was immediately determined by the firm and prompt action of Baldwin in insisting on an acknowledgment that the King of Thessalonica was vassal of the Emperor of Romania. By this compact Boniface ceded to Venice Crete and the sum of 100,000 hyperpers which Alexius III. had promised to him, also a fief in Europe conferred by Manuel Komnênos on his father; moreover Thessalonica and its pertinences *intus et foris*. In return he was to receive 1,000 silver marks, and as much land in the west, that is in Epeiros, as will yield an annual revenue of 10,000 gold hyperpers. He bound himself to defend Venetian possessions.

The fact that Boniface bargained for lands in the west of Greece shews that he designed to form a Lombard kingdom extending to the shores of the Adriatic, and as nearly as possible in communication with his Italian possessions. The fact that he placed his kingdom under Venetian supremacy shows that Baldwin's energy convinced him that he could not yet declare himself independent of the empire unless he, at least provisionally, formed a coalition with another power, and naturally with Venice. The Venetians who had fixed covetous eyes on Crete, the bridge to Syria and Egypt, were well satisfied with this *refutatio* as it is called by which they acquired a claim to the island.

It was arranged by Marco Sanudo and Ravano dalle Carceri of Verona;² and among the seven witnesses were two of whom we shall hear again, Dominus Pegorarius de Verona, and Dominus Gilbertus de Verona.

§ 4. *Occupation of Eubœia by Jaques d'Avesnes.* Early in the following year Boniface advanced into Greece at the head of the Crusaders to conquer the lands which had been assigned

¹ Buchon, *Recherches et Mat.* i. 10.

² 'Domino Marco Sanuto et domino Ravano de Verona recipientibus procuratorio nomine pro domino Henrico Dandulo' etc. Navagero (Muratori,

S. R. L. xxiii. 984) mentions that, 'Ser Marco Sanuto e Don Romano dalla Carcere Veronese' arranged the cession of Crete.

to them. Another part of his scheme now unfolds itself. He makes use of his position as commander of the Crusaders to invest them with fiefs and make them vassals of the kingdom of Thessalonica, whereas according to the treaty of partition they should have been immediate vassals of the emperor. It was becoming plainer and plainer that the kingdom of Thessalonica was an anomaly, judged by the original designs. It was not, however, until after Boniface's death that the empire and the kingdom collided on this head. The common enemies—the Bulgarians, the Greeks of Nikaja and the Greeks of Epeiros—prevented an earlier collision.

Having successfully overcome the opposition that was offered at Thermopylai by the Greeks under Leon Sgueros, Boniface invested Otho de la Roche with Boiôtia and Attika, and Jaques d'Avesnes with the island of Euböia, called by the Italians Negroponte, by the French Nigrepont, by the Greeks *Ἐβριπος*.¹ D'Avesnes built and garrisoned a castle at Chalkis, also called Negroponte, and then hastened immediately to rejoin Boniface, who had advanced to besiege Corinth whither Leon Sgueros had retreated.

With the island d'Avesnes does not appear to have troubled himself further; and in August 1205, reserving the lordship to himself, he allowed his overlord Boniface to divide it into three large fiefs and invest therewith three Lombard lords whose connection with the compact of Adrianople indicates perhaps that they may have been specially well-disposed to Bonifacio. Ravano dalle Carceri was invested with Southern Euböia,

¹ It is generally recognised that Negropontē is a corruption of Evripot pronounced vulgarly Egripot. This seems quite proven by the form Aegripontis (Aigrepont) which we also find used by the Latins, e.g. by Pope Innocent III. (Epist. xi. 256) *Episcopatum Aegripontis*. The initial *n* must be explained by a false separation (cf. the English words *newt*, *nickname*) in the expression's τὸν Ἐβριπον, which became sto Negripont (cf. Ellissen, *Analekten*, ii. p. 19). The bridge at Chalkis was a remarkable feature which would impress a visitor; it was not unnatural then that the instinct of

Volksetymologie should form Négroponte. In Latin works of Italian chroniclers we also find Pons Niger, e.g. in the *Historia Gul. et Alb. Comitiſſorum de Novitiſſus Paduæ et Lombardiæ*, Bk. x., c. 7 I noticed 'carcerantur in Ponte Nigro,' and just below 'Nigropontem intraverunt.' In Villehardouin's *Conquête* the island is called Nigre, and the town, Nigrepont. Nigre is curious. The French evidently interpreted Nigrepont, as they called Chalkis, 'the bridge of Nigre,' and supposed Nigre, which suggested no idea, to be the name of the island.

including Karystos and Larmena; Gilbertus de Verona who was related to Ravano received the central part of the island, and Pegoraro dei Pegorari the northern third.¹ These three lords were called the *terzieri* (*tierceirs*) of Negroponte. Hopf calls them *Dreiherrn*, and we may call them triarchs.

Before 1209 Jaques d'Avesnes died without issue, and thereby the triarchs became independent except of the overlordship of the emperor which was disputed by the Count of Biandrate (Blandrate) on behalf of the heirs of Boniface, who died in 1207. In the meantime Pegoraro, the lord of North Euboa, had returned home, leaving his Third in the possession of either Ravano alone or Ravano and Gilberto conjointly. Shortly afterwards, apparently about the beginning of 1209, Gilberto died, and, although he had two sons Guglielmo and Alberto, Ravano became sole lord.

§ 5. *War of the Barons.* In the year 1207 Oberto, Count of Biandrate (li cuens des Blans-Dras), and the Constable Amadeo Buffa, acting in the name of Boniface's son, Guglielmo of Montferrat, refused the allegiance due from the King of Thessalonica to the Emperor Henry, Baldwin's brother and successor. All the Lombard Barons of Northern Greece, including Ravano of Euboa, supported the disloyalty of Biandrate. Otho de la Roche, megaskyr of Athens, upheld the lawful authority of the Emperor. Henry who possessed the energy and firmness of his brother Baldwin decided to march against the refractory barons and enforce their submission,—a necessary step, as the idea of a rival Lombard empire under William of Montferrat was in the air. Ravano possessed considerable importance among the Lombards; he was named as one of two delegates for a proposed committee of five who should decide the disputes with Henry.² When the Emperor is at Halmyros in Thessaly, Ravano appears in the gulf of Volo with a number of galleys, and has an interview with Conon de Béthune and Anseau de Cayeux with the object of a conciliation, which however was not effected.³ Henry adopted a conciliating policy, and most of the barons of Greece, including Geoffrey of the Morea, did homage to him at Ravennika (a place of mysterious topography) in May 1209.

¹ I have deduced this division from p. 368, ed. Natalis de Wailly (3rd ed.).
the division of 1216.

³ Id. c. xxxiii. ; p. 404.

² *Henri de Valenciennes*, c. xx. ;

Ravano, however, was not disposed to submit and did not attend this diet. In March (1209) he had sent his brother Henry, Bishop of Mantua, as an envoy to Venice, to offer to the Republic the overlordship of Negroponte; and trusting in this he ventured to defy Henry. But the siege of the Kadmeia changed the aspect of the situation and induced Ravano and Alberto, lord of Bodonitza, who was also recalcitrant, to submit. Peace was made, and the Count of Biandrate who was a prisoner at Thessalonica was released. Vowing to avenge himself on the emperor he proceeded to Negroponte. Henry also repaired thither, and his visit may be related in the words of Henri de Valenciennes.¹

§ 6. *Ravano entertains the Emperor Henry.* ‘The Emperor went to the principal church in Athens to pray; this church is called Nostre Dame; and Othes de la Roche, who was lord thereof (to whom the marquis had given it) honoured him there as far as was in his power. There the Emperor sojourned two days and on the third set out towards Negrepont. He passed the night in a village and rested there until the next day, when Banduins de Pas told him that the Count of Blans-Dras was at Negrepont: “and know, sire, that I passed the night at Negrepont and heard there that if you go he will seize you.” And when the Emperor heard it he was very sad thereat, and said that on account of this he would not fail to go.

‘He then called Ravans and the Constable who was with him, and Othon de la Roche and Ansel de Kaeu (Anseau de Cayeux), and told them that the Count had threatened to seize him, were he to go to Negrepont. And Ravans bade him not to be afraid: “You know well,” said he, “that the city is mine, and I will take you thither with a safe conduct, my head upon it.” “I know not,” answered the Emperor, “what may or may not come of it, but I will go.” The next day he set forth in a galley, he and Ravans, to go to Negrepont. But under whatsoever augury he may have entered the city, I trow he will feel great terror before he can leave it; for the treachery was all agreed upon and prepared.

‘The Emperor Henry entered Negrepont with great joy, and the Greeks (li Grifon) of the town and the country received him gladly and came to meet him with a great sound of trumpets

¹ Id. c. xxxvi. ; p. 412.

and musical instruments, and conducted him to a church of Our Lady to pray. And when he had prayed as much as it pleased him he arose and left the church. The Count of Blans-Dras had already arranged how the Emperor was to be slain. They said he had come almost unattended, for he had with him only thirty knights. They agreed to seize him when at table or when sleeping in his bed; thus they might be avenged and not otherwise.

‘The Emperor remained in this manner amongst them for three days. News came to Thebes that he had been taken at Negrepont. Then you might have seen his knights wonder-stricken and strangely incensed and disconcerted. And the news spread throughout all the land. The Emperor was three days at Negrepont and no one said or did anything to displease him. And Ravans acted as if he knew all the plot and how it had been concerted. Then he went to the Count and said to him: “Count of Blans-Dras, what wouldest thou do? How in God’s name could thy heart resolve to commit such a disloyal act as to slay the Emperor, from the shame whereof thou couldest not in the end escape? And moreover thou knowest it for truth that he has come to Negrepont upon my safe conduct; and I am his liegeman. How canst thou think then that I could permit him to be injured? Count of Blans-Dras, why should I say more to thee? So aid me God, I cannot permit it.”

‘What avails this? If Ravans had not been there, the Emperor could not have left Negrepont without much trouble or without receiving bodily injury. The Emperor expressed a desire to return to Thebes to see his men, who as he had been told were in fear for him. He left Negrepont and arrived at Thebes. And we need not ask if his men came to meet him and gave him a great reception as their liege lord. But for the present our tale is silent on this matter, and returns to Burile (Vorylas) who was preparing to enter the Emperor’s territory with a large force.’

§ 7. *Venetian settlement at Negroponte.* The appeal of Ravano to Venice in 1209 gave her an opportunity to place a hand, gently indeed at first, on this important island. The Republic might indeed have claimed it as having been assigned to it in the Treaty of Partition; but this claim was never urged, and

it was only gradually that the Venetian power became dominant in Euböia. At first the Venetians took no measures to take possession of the large territories—the Peloponnêsos, Epeiros, Euböia, and the islands in the Archipelago—to which the Partition conferred a claim. In the first place these countries had to be conquered, and Venice was not disposed to go to the necessary expenses; and in the second place her attention was engrossed with two tasks which she considered of paramount importance, the occupation of Kandia and the establishment of the authority of the new patriarch. One of the arrangements of the Partition was that the patriarchate should be held by a Venetian; the Venetians had said, ‘Imperium est vestrum, nos habebimus patriarchatum.’¹ Venice saw the importance of having the Church in her hands as far as possible, as a balance to the influence of Innocent III. and the Curia, with which she was generally not on very good terms. She had also been engaged in founding the short-lived colony of Korfû.

On receiving the embassy of Ravano, who offered to pay to the Republic 2,100 gold pieces annually, and grant it free quarters in Negroponte and any other towns of the island, the Doge despatched Pietro Arimondi to Euböia to arrange matters with the baron; and the agreement was concluded in 1211. It is uncertain whether the post of Bailo (μπαίλος, bajulus) of Negroponte was instituted in this year or not until 1216 at the time of Ravano’s death.

It is important to note that this was the mode in which Venice set foot in Euböia; for wrong conceptions were afterwards entertained, as was perhaps natural, seeing that the island *de jure* belonged to Venice if the Treaty of Partition were valid. Thus we read in the *Storia Veneziana* of Navagero that the city of Negroponte, which at the division of the empire had fallen to the share of the Signoria di Venezia, ‘fu da quella data in feudo a Don Roman dalle Carceri e fratelli e nipoti. I quali a propie spese l’andarono ad acquistare e la possederono co’ loro eredi sino a questo tempo (1255).’ It was from Boniface and not from Venice that the triarchs received Euböia.

§ 8. *Ravano and the Church.* It was not merely the unpleasant relations subsisting between Henry and the kingdom of Thessalonica with which Ravano identified himself, that rendered

¹ Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ.* xvi. 12.

the protection of Venice desirable. Ravano had fallen foul of the most mighty potentate of the time, Pope Innocent III.,¹ and Venice was the power that would be most ready to countenance an anti-papal attitude. After the death of Jaques d'Avesnes, and perhaps before it, Ravano did not scruple to interfere with Church property, and the Templars who had settled in the island² lodged a complaint at Rome. Innocent wrote thus to the Bishop of Damala: 'Suam ad nos dilecti filii, fratres militiae Templi, querimoniam transmisere quod nobilis vir Ravanus, dominus insulae Nigropontis, quasdam possessiones a Jacobo, quondam domino de Avennis, pietatis intuitu concessas eisdem in animae suae dispendium detinere presumit' (15 October, 1210).

In another way also had Ravano sinned. He had a liaison with one Isabella, a married lady, and wedded her after her husband's death. Berard, Archbishop of Athens, under whose jurisdiction was included the bishopric of Negroponte, excommunicated him; in 1212 Innocent released him from the ban.³ Perhaps Berard would not have proceeded to this extremity had not Ravano opposed him in another matter. Theodoros was the Greek Bishop of Euboa, and Cardinal Benedict, the Pope's legate, probably at the instance of Ravano allowed him to remain in office and (1208) the Pope confirmed this arrangement. But Berard deposed him for employing non-Latin ritual, yet did not succeed in effecting his removal.

Four bishoprics in Euboa are mentioned as subject to the Archbishop of Athens—Negroponte, Karystos, Zorkon, and Avalona.⁴ There is difficulty as to the identification of the

¹ Ep. xi. 117 is a letter addressed 'Nobilibus viris dominis Nigripontis,' bidding them pay the tithes due to the Theban Ecclesia.

² The possessions of the Templars in Euboa are detailed in Letter xiii. 146, which is addressed to them: 'domum Nigripontis cum his quae habet in Nigroponte et domum de Lageran et casale de Oizparis cum eorum pertinentiis ac alia quae tenetis in insula Nigripontis.' These grants were made by Ravano, Jaques d'Avesnes and Giberto (Gubertus).

³ Innocent's letter to Berard in which he removes the ban (*misericorditer dispensare*) is dated 27th May, 1212. The dispensation is on condition that no agreement had been made between Ravano and the lady during her husband's life-time, and that she had not been instrumental in contriving her husband's death. This condition makes the affair look somewhat suspicious.

⁴ Episcopatum . . . Abelonensem, Zorconensem, Caristiensem (Inn. Ep. xi. 256).

two last; that they are in Euboia seems almost certain. Hopf suggests the identification of Zorkon with Oreos, but for this there is neither evidence nor probability. I propose to identify the name Zorkon with that of the modern village Zarka, a little to the north of Styra, and the ancient Zarex. Avalona, I would suggest, may have been in the neighbourhood of Avalonari, south of Kumi.

The diet of Ravennika in May, 1210 (to be distinguished from the assembly at the same place in May, 1209) was chiefly of ecclesiastical importance. Although Innocent confirmed it in December, the spirit of the emperor and the barons was by no means favourable to the papal pretensions. It was distinctly a settlement of differences between Church and State without consulting the Pope. Henry adopted the secular policy of which Frederick II. was the representative in the thirteenth century; and in his anti-papal attitude he found an ally in the Venetian Patriarch Morosini, who desired to render the Church in Romania independent of Rome. Morosini was a promoter of the diet of Ravennika, which established the payment of the akrostichon by the clergy to the secular powers and secured the principle of secularising Church property—a principle which the Venetians were already adopting in Crete.

Ravano signed the articles of Ravennika with the other barons.

§ 9. *Division of Euboia on Ravano's death.* In 1216 Ravano dalle Carceri died, and the three parts of Euboia which had been united under his lordship were again divided. The Venetian Bailo, Pietro Barbo, helped to arrange a new partition (November 17) among the claimants, who were six in number, three pairs: namely, (1) Isabella, Ravano's widow, and Berta his daughter, (2) Rizzardo and Marino, the sons of his brother Redondello dalle Carceri, whom he had adopted before his marriage, (3) Guglielmo and Alberto de Verona, his kinsmen, sons of Giberto de Verona, formerly triarch of Central Euboia.

The southern Third was assigned to Isabella and Berta; the central Third to Guglielmo and Alberto, naturally succeeding to the Third which had been their father's; the northern Third, which had been Pegoraro's, to Marino who married Pegoraro's daughter Margherita, and his brother Rizzardo. The Thirds thus fell into Sixths, which however it was intended should be

rejoined ; for a peculiar arrangement was made, by which, if one of the two hexarchs (sestieri) died, the other hexarch, and not the deceased's heirs, was to succeed.

It seems that Ravano had a younger daughter, Felisa dalle Carceri. She afterwards married Otho de Cicon, who was invested, by her sister Berta presumably, with the barony of Karystos.

It is to be observed that in the growth of Venetian influence in Euboiā the year 1216 marks a distinctly new stage. By the treaty of 1211 a sort of overlordship of the island nominally belonged to Venice, not colliding however with the relation of Ravano to the emperor. But it is not till 1216 that she practically interferes in its affairs. When the Venetian Bailo arranged matters between the Lombard claimants, a precedent of great practical consequence was formed, and the influence of the Bailo was enormously increased. This increase of influence was marked by the introduction of Venetian weights and measures, the extension of Venetian privileges, and endowment of the church of San Marco. In fact a Venetian station was instituted at Negroponte of the same kind as the settlement at Constantinople. A large influx of settlers from Venice probably took place about this time. In the year 1224 it was ordained that the Bailo's salary should be 450 gold hyperpers, out of which he was to maintain a notary, a servant and three horses ; besides this he was to receive as viaticum 100 pounds.

§ 10. *Relations of Euboiā to Achaia.* Some obscurity hangs over the relations of the triarchs of Euboiā to the principality of Achaia. According to the chronicle of Morea, Bonifacio of Montferrat invested Guillaume de Champlitte with the overlordship of Athens and Euripos.¹ This of course is fictitious. It is also very doubtful whether the story, contained in the same untrustworthy chronicle, that the Emperor Robert conferred the suzerainty of the Archipelago on Geoffrey II. at Larissa,² has any foundation ; the context is certainly legendary. In 1236, however, Geoffrey, who had come in person to Constantinople and aided Baldwin II. with a considerable sum, was invested by that

¹ ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν ἔδωκε τρεῖς ὁμάτσια
τοῦ Εὐρίπου . . .
οἱ δὲ τοῦ Εὐρίπου ὁποῦ λαλῶ, ἐκεῖνοι
τρεῖς αὐθέντες

ἐκ τὴν Βερόναν ἤσασιν ἀπὸ τὴν Λουμ-
παρδῖαν.

² Buchon, *Chron. Etr.* p. 63.

emperor with the overlordship of the Archipelago (Duchy of Naxos), Euboia and the possessions of the Duke of Athens which lay south of the isthmus. By this investiture the triarchs were engaged to supply to the prince a galley or eight knights. Geoffrey himself received 2,150 muggi (modii) of land in the island. Euboia now stood in the same relation to the Prince of Achaia as it at first stood to the King of Thessalonica.

At the siege of Monembasia in 1247-8, the triarchs performed their duty as vassals of William of Achaia. The chronicle of Morea makes them take part also in the siege of Argos and Corinth, which it erroneously places in the time of William, whereas they were really exploits of Geoffrey II.

§ 11. *Gap in Euboian history from 1216-1255.* Of the internal history of Euboia during the time of Geoffrey II. of Achaia and the first ten years of the sovereignty of his successor William we know almost nothing; we have not even a record of the Baili of Negroponte. This is the more unfortunate, as afterwards, when our sources of information become fuller, we are met with certain difficulties which a more precise knowledge of the events of this period would solve.

In 1220 Rizzardo dalle Carceri, hexarch in northern Euboia, was dead. He had one daughter, Carintana, of whom we shall hear more, but, in accordance with the arrangement of 1216, his Sixth reverted to the surviving hexarch, and accordingly Marino became triarch of north Euboia.

The same thing soon afterwards happened in central Euboia. Alberto died and Guglielmo became sole lord.

Of southern Euboia we hear nothing. After 1216 Isabella and Berta are as the Germans say *verschollen*.

Four other events happened before 1255: (1) Marino died, and his son Narzotto succeeded him as triarch; (2) Carintana, niece of Marino and cousin of Narzotto, became possessed of either a Sixth or Third of Euboia; (3) Grapella, son of Alberto and nephew of Guglielmo da Verona, became a hexarch; (4) Carintana married William Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia.

In 1255 the lady Carintana died, and William laid claim in her name to the north of Euboia, calling himself a triarch. At this point a great difficulty as to the distribution of the Euboian fiefs begins to appear.

§ 12. *Problem as to distribution of Thirds and Sixths.* The difficulties and apparent inconsistencies which meet us are as follows:

(1) In 1216 Isabella and Berta possess the southern Third; after this we hear nothing of them.

(2) In 1255, when Villehardouin claimed the Barony of Oreos, according to Hopf (p. 277), 'Zogen...Guglielmo da Verona und dessen Schwiegersohn Narzotto dalle Carceri, welche damals die übrigen zwei Drittheile besaßen, alsbald ihren Antheil, die Baronie Oreos ein und beliehen damit den Grapella dalle Carceri, ihren Verwandten.' As Guglielmo was triarch of central Euboia, this implies that Narzotto was lord of southern Euboia. But as heir of his father Marino we expect to find him lord of northern Euboia. Here are two questions: how does Narzotto become lord of southern Euboia? and how did Carintana obtain northern Euboia?

That William's claims were based upon Carintana's actual possession of a part of Euboia and not merely upon the fact that her father Rizzardo had once been hexarch, is proved by the circumstance that she invested a Venetian, Michele Morosini, with territory in the island. It is extremely improbable that William would have engaged in a war with his vassals on this pretext. Hopf is here inconsistent. He says (p. 273) that the whole northern Third descended from Marino to Narzotto, and that William seemed even then—just after his accession—inclined 'die Ansprüche seiner Gemahlin gegenüber den andern Dreiherrn geltend zu machen'; and again (p. 274), 'trotzdem fiel es nun dem Fürsten ein, ihre (Carintana's) angeblichen Anrechte auf ein Drittel der Insel geltend zu machen.' From these passages it would appear that Narzotto was in possession of northern Euboia, and that Carintana had no actual portion in the island. This is inconsistent not only with the investiture of Morosini (recorded p. 278), but with the passage quoted above. The fact stated there distinctly implies that Carintana did possess the Barony of Oreos until her death, upon which the other triarchs took possession of it and transferred it to Grapella.

(3) Seeing that in some unexplained manner Narzotto is lord of south Euboia and Grapella of north Euboia, we find by following out the line of inheritance that in 1320 Ghisi has

south Euboa, Beatrix de Noyers central Euboa, Maria Cornaro and Pietro dalle Carceri northern Euboa.

But in 1341 this Maria's daughter, Guglielma, who claimed her mother's Sixth, which Pietro had in the meantime seized, had a dispute with Agnese of Larmena, professing to be liege lady of that place. Now Larmena is close to Styra in southern Euboa, and hence it would appear that the Sixth, claimed by Guglielma and possessed by Maria and her father Gaetano, must have been in south Euboa. In other words Grapella, who was succeeded by Gaetano and Grapozzo, must have possessed a Sixth in south Euboa. Here is a glaring inconsistency.

(4) Another difficulty is the position of the Barony of Karystos, which generally appears independent of the triarchs, and yet was originally part of the southern Third.

§ 13. *Hypothesis to solve these difficulties.* From the fact that we hear no more of Ravano's daughter Berta we may deduce that she died without heirs. I propose to assume that on her death the two remaining triarchs, Guglielmo and Marino (or, if he were dead, his son Narzotto), made a new arrangement, with the assistance probably of the Bailo of Negroponte. Three persons would naturally put in a claim; Felisa dalle Carceri, Berta's younger sister, who had married Otho de Cicon, lord of Karystos; Carintana, Marino's niece, and daughter of the former hexarch Rizzardo; Grapella, Guglielmo's nephew, and son of the former hexarch Alberto.

The arrangement, I suppose, took this form:

Grapella received a Sixth, half of southern Euboa, and married Guglielmo's daughter, his cousin Margherita;

Carintana received a Sixth, but instead of receiving the other moiety of southern Euboa Narzotto took it and gave to her half of northern Euboa, doubtless the same part which her father Rizzardo had held, including Oreos;

Felisa and Otho de Cicon probably did not receive an extension of territory, but in lieu thereof Karystos was made independent of the triarchs.

I believe that this hypothesis will explain all the difficulties. It follows that both the Third of Narzotto and the Third of Grapella consisted of two Sixths not contiguous. The southern Sixth of Grapella must have fallen to the share of Gaetano, and

thus is explained the second difficulty mentioned above—Guglielma's claim to Larmena.

As to Grapella receiving a Sixth we may compare Hopf, p. 275: 'Da aber Alberto's ältester Sohn Grapella...sich mit Margherita da Verona, Guglielmo's Tochter, vermählt hatte, überliess letzterer gern dem Eidam einen Antheil an der Herrschaft.' That Guglielmo would have transferred to Grapella any considerable part of his own Third seems most highly improbable. The basis of this statement is doubtless an unprecise allusion to Grapella's acquisition in the south.

William Villehardouin claimed the Barony of Oreos. We must not identify it with the northern Third, as Hopf does. The Barony of Oreos was the Sixth of Carintana; the other Sixth was Narzotto's. That William claimed a whole Third¹ need not necessarily be inferred from the fact that he called himself a triarch (tertiarius). The word *tertiarius*, *terziero*, was probably used in a general way to designate a lord of Euboa. We find it afterwards applied to Bonifacio da Verona, who was not even a hexarch.

That some arrangement in regard to southern Euboa took place between 1216 and 1255 is certain. That which I have suggested above seems to me the only one which could produce the circumstances which we find afterwards. Documents bearing on the subject may yet be brought to light.

§ 14. *The triarchs and Venice prepare for war.* William Villehardouin and Carintana dalle Carceri had no children, so that if William's claim had been admitted a Sixth of Euboa would have passed completely from the Veronese family. Guglielmo, Narzotto, and Grapella were not disposed to favour such an idea, even though William was their overlord, and though Guglielmo had married Simona, a niece of William, after the death of his first wife Helena of Montferrat. The solidarity of the three triarchs had been rendered firm by two marriages: Grapella married Margherita da Verona, Narzotto married Felisa da Verona; Margherita and Felisa were sisters, daughters of Guglielmo.

When Carintana died (1255) and William asserted his claims

¹ Navagero, who in these matters is not accurate, says: 'Era nel dominio di quella città un terzo pervenuto per suc-

cessione di madre il principe d'Achaia, restati gli altri due terzi nella famiglia dalle Carceri' (p. 997).

to her Sixth, appealing in vain to the Venetians to assist him in enforcing them, Narzotto and Guglielmo quietly took possession of the Sixth and gave it to Grapella. William's attitude was threatening.

Paolo Gradenigo was bailo at this time. In 1256 (June 14) a new treaty was made between Venice and the Lombard lords for the purpose of joint operations against the Prince of Morea. It was on the basis of the old treaties of 1211 and 1216. Guglielmo gave up the castle on the bridge of Chalkis—the Black Bridge, Negroponte, as it was called—to Venice, and also a considerable tract of land close to Chalkis—probably a strip of the famous Lelantine plain. All the receipts of custom were to go to the Venetian treasury, the triarchs themselves being alone exempted from paying duties; on the other hand they were released from the tribute of 700 hyperpers which they used to pay to Venice.¹

But the distinctive feature, as it was the motive, of this treaty is the 'viva guerra' to be waged against Villehardouin if he persist in illegal claims.

The treaty was not finally concluded till January, 1257. Among the witnesses was Francesco da Verona, a son of Guglielmo.²

Thus a coalition was formed between Venice and the Lombards against the Prince of Achaia. This coalition was joined by William de la Roche, brother of Guy of Athens, and baron of Veligosti in Morea, who was thus recusant to his liege lord. On the other hand Otho de Cicon,³ lord of Karystos, and Leone dalle Carceri, nephew of Guglielmo and brother of Grapella, sided with William.

Michele Morosini,⁴ liegeman of Carintana, left the island to

¹ That is 700 hyperpers each. The tribute originally arranged was 2100 gold hyperpers, see § 7.

² The treaty was renewed again on May 6th, 1258, with the new Bailo Barozzi, with two modifications: the war was to be confined to Romania, and the power of concluding peace was restricted to the Doge. Among the witnesses were Buturello dalle Carceri, a brother of Grapella, and Marzio Zuglano, podestà of the Venetian

settlement in Negroponte.

³ Otho de Cicon was third son of Jacques de Cicon and Sibylla, a daughter of Pons Flagey, a younger brother of Otho de la Roche.

⁴ This Morosini was procurator of William, and this must be connected with the fact stated by Hopf that Carintana had invested him with a sixth of the island, i.e., her whole property; but Morosini was not a hexarch.

escape from a dilemma which vexed his conscience—the necessity of fighting against his country, Venice, or fighting in an unjust cause. The behaviour of Morosini, de Cicon, and Leone certainly indicates that William had a considerable show of right on his side—had more right than would be established by the mere fact that his wife Carintana was the daughter of Rizzardo, whose claim to a Sixth had legally lapsed on his death in 1220.

§ 15. *William Villehardouin makes war on Eubœia.* In 1256 William marched to Rupō, the ancient Orobiai, on the north-west coast of the island. His position as overlord gave him the upper hand. He summoned the two most prominent triarchs, Guglielmo and Narzotto:¹ they did not think it wise to disobey their liege lord, and he promptly laid them under arrest.

Then Simona, the wife of Guglielmo and niece of William Villehardouin, and Felisa, the wife of Narzotto, accompanied by a number of the dalle Carceri family, appeared before the Venetian Bailo, Marco Gradenigo, ‘with rent raiment and dishevelled hair,’ to beg his intervention for the release of the two barons. In the meantime William had sent a detachment, which took possession of the town of Negroponte, but the bailo at the head of his Venetians recaptured it. He did not hold it long, however, for Geoffrey de la Bruyères, William’s nephew, soon arrived and drove the Venetians out.

There ensued a long siege of a year and a month. The bailo blockaded the town with three galleys and erected a bulwark—said to have been built in one day—la difesa di Santa Maria dei Cazzonelli. William de la Roche did all he could to assist the Venetians; even the Pope, Alexander IV., interfered, using his influence to induce William to come to terms. The long blockade was at length crowned with success, and the town capitulated at the beginning of 1258.

During the siege William had kept troops in occupation of the Barony of Oreos, which he claimed; these he now withdrew to concentrate his forces on Negroponte, leaving, however, a garrison in the town of Oreos. The new bailo Barozzi, who succeeded Gradenigo in 1258, acted with vigour, and in a battle which took place to the north of Chalkis completely defeated the army of Achaia. The prisoners captured in this engagement were sent to Venice. Barozzi, determined to follow up his

¹ Navagero calls them ‘i due compadroni.’

victory, continued his march northward to Oreos, but was repulsed with considerable loss in an attempt on that town. Among others Paolo Gradenigo, formerly bailo, lost his life.

About the same time William gained another success in Attica. Causes of offence had passed between him and Guy de la Roche, William claiming the overlordship of Athens, which Guy refused to acknowledge. In 1258 William took decisive measures to punish Guy, invaded Attica, and defeated him in the battle of Karydi, notwithstanding the treachery of his trusted nephew, Geffrey de la Bruyères, the baron of Karytena. William and Guy made peace on the understanding that the subject of their dispute was to be submitted to the arbitration of St. Louis.

The result of Karydi, combined with the defeat at Oreos, rendered Venice inclined to make peace. The new bailo, T. Giustiniani (1259), was directed to treat with Villehardouin, and at the same time two ambassadors were sent to Morea.

§ 16. *Treaty of Thebes.* But a series of events was now taking place, not immediately connected with the politics of Euboa, but destined soon to affect that island as well as all other parts of the empire of Romania. The first of these events was the battle of Pelagonia (Oct. 1259), in which William of Achaia was taken prisoner by Michael Palaiologos. Guy de la Roche, who was then absent in France, laying before king Louis his dispute with William, was elected temporary governor or bailo of the Morea. On hearing the news he returned with all possible speed to the East, and restored the order which had been disturbed through want of a responsible head. He set free the triarchs Guglielmo and Narzotto, and treated with Venice, which (January 2, 1262) empowered Andrea Barbarigo, the bailo, and others to arrange a peace with the prince of Achaia or his representatives.

About the same time William was released from captivity on certain hard conditions, and returned to his principality. There, urged by his vassal, the Venetian Lorenzo Tiepolo, lord of Skyros and Skopelos, he consented to negotiate a treaty with Venice. The transaction took place in the house of Archbishop Henry at Thebes on the 15th and 16th of May, 1262.

(1) The general basis of the treaty was the restitution of the *status quo* before the outbreak of the war, or as it was expressed

in the treaty before the lady Carintana's death, but with certain modifications. (2) The arrangement made in 1256, that Venice was to levy the custom duties, continues in force; but now the prince as well as the triarchs is declared exempt. (3) Venice also retained the quarters then granted to her, except the palace of Villehardouin in Negroponte, in which Michele Morosini, his procurator, had resided. (4) Venice engaged to restore to the triarchs all property which the baili had conferred in fief since 1255.¹ (5) The triarchs engaged to demolish the castle of Negroponte; the site was to remain theirs, while the right of pre-emption of houses they might build thereon was reserved to Venice. (6) Guglielmo, Narzotto, and Grapella were recognised as the *terzieri*. (7) All treaties made between the triarchs and Venice to the detriment of the prince of Achaia were annulled—the treaties of 1211, 1216 of course remaining valid, so far as not modified by subsequent treaties in force. (8) William was recognised as lawful suzerain of the triarchs of Euboa. (9) William granted to Venice personal security for all Venetians in the Morea.

Among the witnesses were Francesco da Verona, William de la Roche, Lorenzo Tiepolo (afterwards Doge).

§ 17. *Position of parties after the war.* It will be seen that this treaty was least favourable to Venice of the three parties concerned.

The triarchs had carried their point against William as to the Barony of Oreos, which remained in the hands of Grapella, while their relations to Venice were hardly altered.

William, too, though unsuccessful in regard to the original *caussa belli*, had forced Venice to recognise him as overlord of the triarchs.

Whereas Venice on the one hand had not much improved its relations with the Lombard barons, and on the other hand had suffered a decided defeat from Villehardouin. This, its first, attempt to become paramount in Euboa had been unsuccessful. We can see that the Republic was keenly sensible that it had made a mistake, by the principle of non-interference in feudal

¹ In practice exceptions seem to have been made. Hopf mentions the cases of D. Moro and Enrico Trevisani who received investitures of fiefs from the

Bailo in 1256 for 20 years and were allowed, Villehardouin consenting, to retain them.

disputes, which it henceforward instructed the baili of Negroponte to adopt. They were especially cautioned against sequestering fiefs.

The settlement in Crete consoled Venice to a certain extent for her disappointment in Euboa. In 1266 Crete was called by the Doge *fortitudo et robur imperii*, a phrase which in the next century became more applicable to Euboa.

The relations of William with the triarchs continued friendly until the death of the former in 1278. He became especially attached to Guglielmo da Verona (the husband of his niece Simona), the oldest and most influential of the three; and actually conceived the plan of transferring to him the overlordship of not only his fellow triarchs but of the Duke of Athens. The plan was not carried out, as Guglielmo died in 1263, having been a lord of Euboa—at first a hexarch, and after the death of Alberto a triarch—for forty-seven years. It is said that the sons of Guy de la Roche were ready to transfer their allegiance to Guglielmo; this shows that he must have been a person of influence and *auctoritas*. His claim to the kingdom of Thessalonica—now only titular, but nevertheless a distinction—by his first wife, Helena of Montferrat, was recognised by the emperor, Baldwin II., and the Pope (1243-4); this gave him additional prestige.

It may be mentioned here that Baldwin on his way from his lost capital to Italy in 1261 visited Euboa, and was honourably entertained by the triarchs.

§ 18. *Condition of Euboa in the thirteenth century.* The position of Venice in Negroponte resembled her position in Constantinople, and must be distinguished from her position in Crete, or even in the south of Messenia. Crete was regularly colonised by Venetians, its government was completely in the hands of Venetians, it was designed to be a second Venice, and Kandia was laid out on the model of the city of the lagoons; in Euboa Venice had at first merely a sort of naval station and diplomatic bureau. Though Koron and Modon were towns in a land which did not belong to her, the towns themselves were completely in the hands of her military castellans; whereas the town of Negroponte was not completely Venetian, but belonged to the Lombard lords of Euboa who resided in it.

Yet the bailo of Negroponte was more important than the

dukes of Crete in the general political transactions of Venice in the East, and was far more important than the captains who governed Koron and Modon.¹ The central position of Negroponte made it an important position, and it afterwards became the chief object of Venice's concern.

It was probably fortunate for the prosperity of Eubœia that it was in the hands of Lombards, for Lombards were more likely than Franks to live peacefully with Venetians. For the Lombard character, partly chivalrous and partly commercial, was a sort of mean between the martial Frank and the trading Venetian; just as Venice itself was a sort of half-way house connecting the Greeks with the western nations, partaking of the character of both. Their mutual experience in the north of Italy rendered Venetians and Lombards suitable neighbours in the East.

The Lombard barons were amateur corsairs, and the position of Eubœia rendered it an excellent headquarters for such a pursuit. Narzotto dalle Carceri and Grapella were especially notorious for their energy and success in enriching themselves by piracy. They filled their castles with the spoils of ships taken in the Archipelago, and extended their expeditions as far as the coast of Asia Minor. Their ships numbered a hundred, and it is related that once near Anaia, a town facing Samos, they took the immense haul of 50,000 hyperpers' worth of gems and precious metals. The Archipelago was infested with pirates at this time; even the de la Roches of Athens indulged in the art.

A large number of kinsmen of the triarchs lived in Eubœia, provided with appanages. Many had migrated from Lombardy and settled in Eubœia. The empire of Romania in the thirteenth century resembled in one respect the English colonies in the nineteenth; it was a place for younger sons to try their fortunes. Nicolò dalle Carceri, a nephew of Ravano, and brother of Marino and Rizzardo, was one of the first arrivals. He had a son Marino, first cousin of Narzotto; and a document

¹ The salary of the Bailo was 450, that of the Castellan 250 gold hyperpers. In 1249 two councillors were appointed to assist the Bailo, and in the following year the duty of collecting the revenue

was consigned to them. The office of the Bailo according to Navagero (p. 997) was to administer 'ragion sommaria' to the Venetians who were in Negroponte.

is extant in which Narzotto's son Merinetto (of whom we shall hear more hereafter) grants to this Marino certain lands, including the village of Trapano. The sons of Alberto (brothers of Grapella) lived in the island, taking part in the wars in which their kinsmen were engaged, and doubtless also in the piratical expeditions—Leone, Butarello, Giovan Goberto, and Bonifacio. Francesco da Verona, *le viellart* as he was called, a brother of Guglielmo I., was a person of special consequence; his sons afterwards became sestieri.

The town of Negroponte was the general residence of the Lombard barons and their kinsmen; here all deeds and titles were issued; for it was common to all and not particularly identified with the triarch of central Eubolia.

We have already mentioned Otho de Cicon, the Burgundian, who among the lesser lords in Eubolia was especially notable. Through his mother Sibylla he was connected with the ducal house of Athens; and by his wife Felisa he became lord of Karystos, which he converted into a strong fastness. The document which records his present to the abbey of Bellevaux in 1250 is preserved in the *Cartulaire de Bellevaux*,¹ and is worth quoting. It shows that he too had a house in Negroponte.

'Je Othe de Cycons, sires de Caryste, doigne à l'abbaye de Bellevaus en Bourgoigne de l'ordre de Cisteans, vint livrées de ma terre que je ait en Bourgoigne pour l'ame de moi et pour les ames de mon père, de ma mère et de mon frère. Et vuoil et commant que al lor soit assenée et delivrée sitost comme on saurai que je serai trespassez de cest siegle. Et por ce que cest dons soit fermes et estables, ai-je fait sailer ces lettres de mon séel. Et ce fut fait à Aigrepont en ma maison, l'an de l'incarnation Nostre Seigneur mille deux cents et cinquante, en décembre.'

The condition of the Greek population in Eubolia was much ameliorated under the Latin domination. Eubolia, like the other parts of the empire, must have experienced the general depression and misery produced by the incompetent misgovernment of the Angeloi. We learn that in the latter half of the thirteenth century the population was increasing, which is the surest sign of material improvement. During the war with the

¹ Quoted by Hopf in his *Abhandlung on Karystos, Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, 1853.

prince of Achaia, and still more afterwards during the war with the Palaiologoi, the inhabitants necessarily suffered; they were continually exposed to danger from pirates. Nevertheless, though of course there was not the same prosperity as there had been in the ninth and tenth centuries, there was a vast improvement on the twelfth.

Thus the external choregia of life which forms one, and that a large, portion of the happiness of the average man was probably enjoyed by the Euboiôtes.

As to the other factor, spiritual freedom, it meant to the Greeks of that time nothing more than orthodoxy; all their aspirations were limited by the horizon of the Greek Church. This also was secured to them. To judge from the fact that Theodôros was allowed to continue in his see, in spite of Archbishop Berard, the Greeks had not to suffer much from Latin attempts at conversion.

We must not omit to mention that there were a considerable number of Jews in Eubolia, who were compelled to pay a large proportion of taxes. We shall have occasion to mention this point again.

II.

(1262—1385.)

§ 19. *Divisions of the Second Period.* During this period the Venetian power grows and becomes finally predominant in the island; the Lombards become completely dependent on Venice. It is a period of wars; and a point I would insist on is that it was just these wars that specially favoured the extension of Venetian influence.

The period may be conveniently divided into three parts:

(1) 1262-1303, from the Treaty of Thebes to the Peace of 1303 between Venice and the Greek emperor. The characteristic of this sub-period is that the Lombards and Venetians are combined in a war against the Greeks.

(2) 1303-1340, from the Peace with the Greeks to the death of Pietro dalle Carceri. Venetian power is opposed by the Lombards, who combine with the Catalanians, but finally prevails. The devastations of Turkish pirates promote union among the Latins.

(3) 1340-1385, from the death of Pietro dalle Carceri, whereby the last obstacle to Venetian domination is removed, to the death of Nicolò dalle Carceri, after which Venice appoints the triarchs herself. Venice is dominant, but the Lombard barons have still an independent position, and sometimes oppose the Republic.

I.

(1262—1303.)

§ 20. *New Terzieri.* The triarchs who consented to the Peace of 1262 did not survive it long. Guglielmo da Verona died in the following year, and was succeeded by his eldest son Guglielmo, who married Margaret de Neuilly, daughter of John de Neuilly, baron of Passava, and became thereby marshal of Achaia. Narzotto and Grapella died some years afterwards. The former was succeeded by his son Marino II., who was called Merinetto. Grapella had no children; and so his Third was divided between his wife's nephews, Gaetano and Grapozzo, sons of Francesco da Verona, and grandsons of Guglielmo I. Grapozzo received the Sixth in northern Euböia—the Barony of Oreos; Gaetano the Sixth in southern Euböia, including Larmena.

§ 21. *Change in the situation of affairs: the Greeks threaten Euböia.* The new triarchs found themselves in a new situation. A great change took place in the politics of the East after the Greek victory of Pelagonia in 1259, and the recovery of Constantinople in 1261. The appearance of Charles of Anjou in Italy and his coalition with the Pope introduced another novelty. We may say that 1260 marks a definite division in the history of Romania. The influence of the Palaiologoi in western Romania begins with the battle of Pelagonia; and the importance of the Genoese in the eastern seas dates from the Treaty of Nymphaion in 1261.

There were three separate points at which the Emperor Michael tried to beat back the western nations from the limits of the old Byzantine empire: Northern Greece, where, however, it was chiefly the Greek Angeloi dynasty that he had to contend against, Euböia, and the Peloponnesos. In Morea the Sebastokrâtör, assisted by the Slavonic settlers, carried on a land

warfare against the Franks; North Greece was harassed both by land and sea; and the Greek fleet, which often cruised in the Gulf of Volo, was able to vex the Lombards of Negroponte, as well as the coasts of Thessaly.

A common foe both strengthened the bonds between the prince of Achaia and his Euboian vassals, and caused friendly relations to subsist between them and Joannes of Neopatrai. Guglielmo da Verona, who used to maintain 400 knights, shortly before his death in 1263 supplied Villehardouin with a contingent to subjugate the Slav revolt in Tzakonia; and William afterwards aided the triarchs when they were hard pressed.

But the interests of Venice were not the same as those of the feudal lords; and as the Greeks were not her rivals in commerce she felt no disinclination to keep on good terms with Michael. The Treaty of Nymphaion, which he had concluded with the Genoese in 1261, opening the Black Sea to them, and granting important privileges, alarmed Venice, and forced her into an alliance with the power which commanded the gates of the Euxine. The policy of such an alliance for both parties was further increased by the rise of Charles of Anjou, and his coalition with the Curia. Genoa was at this time an ally of Charles.

§ 22. *Treaty between Venice and Michael in 1265.* Accordingly in 1265 a treaty was arranged between Michael Palaiologos and Venice, establishing an 'affection pure and without guile' (*ἀγαπήν καθαρὰν καὶ ἀδολίευτον*) between the two parties, on the thoroughgoing basis that Venice was to oppose all powers who attacked the Greek empire, not excepting even the Pope; the kings of France, Sicily, Castile, England (*Ἰγκλινίας*), Aragon (*Παγούνας*), Count Charles of Anjou, the Republics of Genoa, Pisa, and Ancona are expressly mentioned. Korone and Methone were left in the possession of the Republic, as well as Crete and the islands in the Aegean which belonged to it already.

In regard to the war in Euboea arrangements are made in some detail. It will be advisable to give the original text:

Εἰς τὸν Εὐρίπον ἵνα ἔχωσιν εἴ τι ἔχουσι σήμερον. ἵνα δώσει
αὐτοῖς ἡ βασιλεία μου εἰς τὸν Ἀλμυρὸν τόπον εἰς κάθισμα καὶ

ποιήσωσιν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναπαύσεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχει ἡ β. μ. μάχην μετὰ τοῦ Εὐρίπου καὶ εὐρίσκονται ἐν αὐτῷ Βενέτικοι, ἵνα ἔχη ἡ β. μ. κατακεκρατημένην τὴν σκάλαν τοῦ Ἀλμύρου, ὅπως μὴ ἐπαίρωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης σκάλας βρώσιμα καὶ πόσιμα οἱ ἐν τῷ Εὐρίπῳ Βενέτικοι καὶ ἀποκομίζωσι ταῦτα εἰς ζωάρκειαν τῶν ἐν τῷ Εὐρίπῳ ἐχθρῶν τῆς β. μ. Λατίνων· μέχρις ἂν δώῃ Θεὸς καὶ γένηται ἐγκρατὴς ἡ β. μ. τοῦ Εὐρίπου καὶ τότε ἵνα ἀπολύσῃ ἡ β. μ. καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην σκάλαν πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς Βενετίας· ὅτε δὲ μέλλει πολεμεῖν ἡ β. μ. μετὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας τοῖς εἰς τὸν Εὐρίπον Λατίνοις οὐ μὴν ἀποστείλῃ ἡ Βενετία συμμαχίαν ἢ χρῆμα εἰς βοήθειαν αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ Εὐρίπῳ εὐρίσκομενοι Βενέτικοι εἰ μὲν ἀποσχισθῶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους τῶν ἐκεῖσε Λατίνων καὶ πῆσωσιν ἰδικῶς καὶ οὔτε τοῖς Λατίνοις συμμαχοῦσιν οὔτε τῇ β. μ. ἀντιδικοῦσιν ἵνα φυλάσσωνται καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς β. μ. ὥς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Βενέτικοι· εἰ δὲ ἀντιδικήσουσιν οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε Λατίνων τῷ μέρει τῆς β. μ. εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Εὐριπιωτῶν γεννησόμενον πόλεμον ἵνα καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτῶν ποιῇ ἡ β. μ. ὅπερ βούλεται· ἀφότου δὲ βοηθείᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπιλάβηται ἡ β. μ. τοῦ Εὐρίπου τὸν τόπον ὃν εὐρίσκεται ἡ Βενετία ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν σήμερον, ἵνα δώσῃ τοῦτον πάλιν ἡ β. μ. πρὸς τὸν εὐγενέστατον δούκα Βενετίας καὶ τὸ κουμούνιον αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔχωσι πάλιν τοῦτον καθὼς ἔχουσι σήμερον.¹

The treaty was confirmed by the Doge with some modifications in 1268.

§ 23. *Licario of Karystos*. Considerable assistance was rendered to the Greek emperor in his designs on Eubœia from an unexpected quarter.

Marino II., son and heir of Narzetto dalle Carceri, was a minor at the time of his father's death, and his Third was managed for him by his mother Felisa, who resided in Negroponte with him and four daughters. Felisa, who was still young and charming, made the acquaintance of a certain Italian gentleman of no very brilliant origin, named Licario,² whose family had come

¹ The text is to be found in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy in 1850, edited by Thomas. I have used the abbreviation β. μ. for βασιλεία

μον. σκάλα means a landing-place ('stairs').

² Called by the Byzantine historians Pachymeres and Niképhoros Gregoras,

to Eubolia from Vicenza, and who now resided in Karystos with his brother. They fell in love; but the kinsfolk of the lady did not approve of the amour. When Francesco da Verona and his brother Giberto became aware that their sister had secretly married Licario, they vowed vengeance against the adventurer of Karystos. He fled and tried in vain through the influence of friends to conciliate the barons. He finally occupied the castle of Anemopylai, near Karystos, and having strongly fortified it and collected a number of adventurous friends, converted it into an independent sea-castle, from which he used to descend and plunder the neighbouring farms and villages. He thus reduced the country people to such a state of terror that they took up their abode within the walls of the nearest town and did not venture to pursue their work in the fields without the precaution of stationing sentries (*ἡμεροσκόποι*).¹

He soon bethought himself of forming relations with the Greek emperor, who was then making attempts to wrest Eubolia from the Lombards. He first sent ambassadors to Michael, and afterwards went himself, leaving a sufficient garrison in his fortress. Michael readily caught at Licario's promises to restore Eubolia to the empire. A Greek garrison was placed in Anemopylai, and a guerilla naval warfare began, in which the islands of the Archipelago suffered from both parties.

§ 24. *Battle of Volo.* It was not until 1275 that the first decisive engagement in which the Latins of Eubolia were engaged took place. In that year the Greek admiral Philanthrôpénos was stationed in the gulf of Volo, while the despot Joannes Palaiologos led an army by land against Joannes I. of Neopatrai. The latter cultivated friendly relations with the Latins, especially with the barons of Eubolia and the Duke of Athens. His interests rendered him also friendly to Charles of Anjou, as both desired to hinder the westward advance of the Palaiologoi in Thessaly and Epeiros. The assistance of Jean de la Roche secured to Joannes, the Sebastokratôr, a brilliant victory at Neopatrai.

Ikaros—mistaken by which name Finlay has in one place identified him with the Genoese Zacharia. The omission of the L arose perhaps from a little dangerous knowledge of Italian, which

seduced the Greek historians to suppose that L was the article.

¹ See Nikêphoros Gregoras, vol. i. (ed. Bonn) p. 95, *sqq.*

But this defeat was the indirect cause of a victory for the Greeks, which went far towards consoling them.

When the Lombards of Negroponte heard the good news, they conceived the idea of attacking the Greek fleet which lay off Dêmétrias. They had already prepared a small fleet, not for the purpose of attacking the imperial navy, says Nikêphoros Gregoras, for that they deemed would be much the same as to shoot at the sky (*εἰς οὐρανὸν τοξεύειν*), but to defend their own shores. The good news of Neopatrai induced them to abandon their defensive policy. A Venetian, Filippo Sanudo, was elected commander; he was the son of a former bailo, Leone Sanudo.

The chief Lombard lords, Guglielmo, Gaetano, Giberto, Francesco, Butarello, took part in the bold enterprise; and although the Greeks numbered eighty ships and they themselves twenty-two, of which only twelve were war galleys, they completely defeated the admiral Philanthrôpênos, who was himself severely wounded.

But an accidental circumstance turned this success into a defeat.

It happened that John Palaiologos and the Greek fugitives from the unlucky field of Neopatrai arrived at that moment on the coast; and hearing of the misfortune of the Greek fleet he manned the routed galleys, which were driven shoreward, with the remnant of the land army. The Lombards, already weary, were surprised and disconcerted at the unexpected attack, and suffered a disastrous defeat. Guglielmo, the *terziero* and marshal of Achaia, was killed; Gaetano, the *sestiero*, Francesco da Verona, his father, Butarello dalle Carceri, and the captain, Sanudo, with many others of lesser note were taken prisoners. Giberto da Verona was fortunate enough to escape.

It should be noticed that in accordance with their engagements to Michael, the Venetians of Euboa officially took no part in the action; but nevertheless Venetian mercenaries assisted the triarchs, and the captain was a Venetian. In 1273 the Venetians had taken care to strengthen the castle which commanded the bridge at Chalkis.

§ 25. *The Greeks conquer Euboa; career of Licario.* The admiral Philanthrôpênos and Licario, who was probably present

at the battle of Volo, prosecuted the war against Eubœia, where the defence now chiefly devolved on Giberto da Verona, who succeeded as triarch his slain nephew Guglielmo. John, Duke of Athens, contributed aid, and the Venetian Bailo seems to have been not over-strict in observing the neutrality to which he was bound.

The chief event of 1276 was the siege of Karystos, the stronghold of Otho de Cicon. Licario blockaded it by land and sea; but the natural strength of the place, rendered still stronger by art, defied for a long time the besiegers, to whom its strength made it a capture all the more desirable. Licario was at last successful, and was invested by the grateful emperor with the island of Eubœia, with the obligation of serving the emperor with 200 knights. Michael was introducing the feudal system among the Greeks. He also gave Licario a noble Greek lady, richly dowered; we are not told what happened to his first wife Felisa dalle Carceri. During the siege of Karystos the island was devastated by another division of the Greek fleet which had its headquarters at Oeos. The fall of Karystos was followed by the capture of four other fortresses, la Clisura, Armena (Larmena¹), Mandrucho and Kuppâ.

In the meantime Venice had recovered its interest in Eubœia which had flagged after the treaty of 1262. She preferred that the island should remain in the possession of the Lombards than pass into the hands of the Greeks. Accordingly in a treaty with Michael in 1277 (March 19), it was expressly stipulated that if the Venetians assisted the triarchs in their war with the Greeks such assistance should not form a *casus belli* between Venice and the empire. (This principle was employed again in 1280 in a treaty between the empire and Florenz of Hainault, Prince of Achaia, wherein the peace was confined to Achaia, it being agreed that aid given by Florenz elsewhere to the foes of the Greeks should not prejudice the general peace. It was also employed in the treaty between Genoa and Venice in 1299, see § 33.) At the same time the prisoners Gaetano and Butarello were released as well as 500 Venetian captives.

Licario, who was now the imperial vice-admiral, had been very successful. He had taken five strong places in Eubœia, and in

¹ L is evidently the Italian article.

the same year he reduced Skopelos and Lémnos. Lémnos was stoutly defended by the Grand Duke Paolo Navigajoso, who refused Michael's offer of 60,000 gold hyperpers. He, and after his death his wife, succeeded in protracting the siege of his castle till 1278, but the rest of the island was won by Licario's arms. He next determined to make an attempt on Chalkis.

Giberto da Verona and his friend John de la Roche, the hero of Neopatrai, marched forth to meet him with a force of Sicilian mercenaries who had served King Manfred. Licario was completely victorious, and captured the persons of Giberto and the Duke of Athens, who were both wounded. The defeated army took refuge in Chalkis, capturing in their retreat a small body of Spaniards who had too rashly pursued them. To their amazement Licario stayed his hand and did not advance on the capital, although he had gained the day and had a fleet at Oreos to back him.

It appears that for the second time a battle in Thessaly influenced the course of events in Euböia. Just as three years before the news of the battle of Neopatrai elated the Lombards and produced the disaster of Volo, so now the news of the battle of Pharsalos, where John the Sebastokratôr had completely defeated the imperial forces under Synadênos and Kavallarios, saved Negroponte from an attack. Soon afterwards assistance arrived to the menaced city. Jaques de la Roche (a cousin of John, Duke of Athens) governor of Nauplion, mustered a body of knights and marched to its relief. In conjunction with him the Venetian Bailo, Nicolò Morosini, took measures for its defence, and Licario gave up for the time all thought of attempting it.

But though Negroponte was saved, the rest of the island was in the hands of the Greeks. As governor of Euböia, Licario established himself in the strong castle of Filla which commanded the Lelantine plain.

Licario's successes must have had from private causes a peculiar zest for him. He had humbled the haughty¹ family of Verona who despised an alliance with him. Giberto, his

¹ The expression τὴν Λατινικὴν ὀφρῦν regard to the Lombard lords of Euböia. (*supercilium*) is used by Nikêphoros in

brother-in-law, was his prisoner, and he himself, who had once been looked on as a vulgar hind, and had afterwards become the freebooter of Anemopylai, was now the lord of Eubœia, high in imperial favour. He was now made Great Constable.¹ The career of Licario, though we know it only in such brief outline, presents to the imagination material for a drama. The last scene is given us ready-made by Nikêphoros Gregoras :

‘The ruler (ἀρχηγος) of Eubœia is led in chains by Ikarios to the emperor; and having survived but for a short space he died. Now his death was on this wise. When he entered the palace and stood near the door as behoves a prisoner, and saw the emperor himself sitting on the imperial throne, and round about him all the court standing in brilliant and elegant array; and saw Ikarios, the slave of yesterday or the day before (τὸν χθὲς καὶ πρότριτα δοῦλον), now in brilliant apparel and insolent² manner coming in and going out, and conversing in the Emperor’s ear,—he straightway snaps the thread of life and falls forward suddenly upon the floor, being unable to endure the violent reversal of fortune (τὸ τῆς βιαιᾶς τύχης παράλογον).’

Butarello dalle Carceri who had been the negotiator of a treaty between Joannes of Neopatrai and Charles of Naples, seems to have fallen about the same time into the hands of the Greeks; his eyes were put out.

Licario soon afterwards succeeded Philanthrôpênos as admiral, and did good service for the Greeks by expelling the Venetians from the islands of the Archipelago. As lord of Eubœia he still made Filla his headquarters. We hear nothing more of him.

§ 26. *The triarchs.* In the same year as the Greek successes in Eubœia took place, the castle of the Navigajosi in Lêmnos fell. Paolo Navigajoso, who died during the siege, had two daughters, Maria and Agnese; Maria was married to Giberto da Verona the triarch, Agnese to Gaetano the hexarch. The widow of Paolo, who defended the castle after his death, took refuge with her daughter Maria in Eubœia. At this time Agnese and her husband Gaetano were absent in Naples at the court

¹ μέγας κονοσταύλος; Pachymeres, *Mich. Pal.* v. 27.

² ‘Swaggering’ is the exact word for σοβαροῦ: Nik. Greg. vol. i. p. 96.

of Charles, and Leone dalle Carceri acted as vice-hexarch for Gaetano in his absence, as we learn from the introductions which Charles gave to Galeran d'Ivry whom he sent in 1278 to act as bailo of Morea. The triarchs named are Giberto, Marino and Leone; the fact that Grapozzo is not also mentioned perhaps indicates that Leone at this time was acting for him also.

Grapozzo married Beatrice the daughter of Giberto. Her brothers Guglielmo and Francesco died young; she was therefore heiress of her father's Third. Her mother Maria administered it after Giberto's death, and is mentioned among the triarchs of Euboa as late as 1310.

Marino II. died without heirs, and his two Sixths were inherited by his sister Alice, who married Giorgio Ghisi, lord of Tënos and Chalandritza. Thus a Sixth in northern and a Sixth in southern Euboa passed into the family of the Ghisi.

§ 27. *Attitude of Venice; treaty of Orvieto.* The dominant influence of Venice in the Archipelago received a blow from the sea-campaigns of Licario; almost all the islands were in Greek hands in 1280. It was apparent that the thorough-going offensive and defensive alliance of 1265 with the Greeks versus the nations of the West was unnatural and therefore impracticable. It was the Genoese who had no hand in the events of 1204, not the Venetians, who were the natural allies of the Greeks; we need not therefore be surprised to find Venice in 1281 concluding a treaty that ran directly contrary to that of 1265.

The treaty of Orvieto (July 3, 1281) was a coalition between Charles of Anjou, Venice, and the Pope for a grand expedition against the Greeks to restore the empire of Romania and establish on the throne the titular emperor, Philip I. of Courtenay. Though preparations were made and preliminary skirmishes took place among the Greek islands, especially about Euboa, the expedition was prevented by the Sicilian Vespers; just as the expedition which was to follow the Treaty of Viterbò, 1267, had been prevented by the invasion of Conradin.

But in 1285 after long negotiations, a peace was patched up between the Emperor Andronikos and Venice, which

shows that Euböia was the chief apple of discord. It was expressly agreed that hostilities in Euripos should not affect the general peace.

From 1281 Venice enters upon an active policy in Euböia. I do not think that this change was due merely to the fact that the Greek advances under Licario interfered with her interests and possessions at the time. This of course was very important in determining her general policy. But I conceive that a special circumstance in regard to Euböia created a new interest in it, and induced her to exert unwonted activity in its behalf. This circumstance was the death of William Villehardouin, the overlord of the Triarchs, without male issue. The suzerainty was now in the hands of a woman. Venice foresaw that future princes of Achaia would not be likely to interfere in Euböian affairs, having quite enough to do in Achaia, where the hostility of the Greeks was now continually engaging the attention of the Franks; and consequently the field seemed clear for the extension of Venetian influence.

§ 28. *Recovery of Euböia from the Greeks.* In 1279 Euböia, with the exception of Negroponte the capital, was as we have seen in the power of the Greeks. The feature of the next sixteen years is the gradual recovery of the island by the joint efforts of the Venetians and Lombards. The lukewarmness displayed by the former after the war with the Prince of Achaia had given place to a decided and ultimately paramount interest in the island; and the popular baili, Nicolò Morosini, called 'the good,' and Nicolò Falier, acted with energy against the Greeks.

The first fortress they recovered was la Clisura; it fell by treachery. An Italian of Euböia, Bonagiunto Forese, induced some of the garrison to betray it; with the help of sailors, supplied by the Bailo Falier, the castle was taken (about 1281). Argalia was the next to fall (? 1282) and it seems that Forese was invested by Venice with these two places as a reward for his services.

During the next fourteen years Filla, Manducho, Kuppa and the other fortresses were recovered one by one. Karystos, Larnema and Metropyle in the south of the island held out until 1296. Their reduction brings us to speak of a

Lombard lord who was very prominent in Eubœia at that time.

§ 29. *Bonifacio da Verona.* Bonifacio da Verona was son of Francesco, *le vicellart*, and nephew of Giberto. His natural parts, his wisdom and his knightly bearing secured him the favour of young Guido, Duke of Athens; and one of the most interesting chapters in Ramon Muntaner, the historian of the Catalanian Grand Company, relates to him. But before quoting this we may give Muntaner's account of his early life, which though untrue possesses interest.

'It is truth that the lord of Verona had three sons. His eldest he made heir of Verona; to the second he gave a goodly array of thirty knights and thirty knights' sons and sent him to Morea, to the Duchy of Athens. And he who was Duke of Athens, father of this Duke of whom I tell you [Duke Guy], received him with the greatest kindness, bestowed on him much of his own possessions and made him a powerful riche-homme; then he gave him a wife with great riches and made him knight. And by this lady he had two sons and two daughters. And when his brother knew that it went so well with him, Messire Boniface¹ who was the youngest of all said to his eldest brother that he wished to go and join his brother in Morea; and this project pleased his eldest brother greatly and he aided him with the best he could.

'His only possession was a castle which he sold to equip himself. His brother knighted him because it was better to set out as a knight than as a squire, for in these countries no son of a riche-homme is of any account (*n'est considéré*) until he be a knight. The Duke received him well on his arrival. He found his brother dead, leaving two sons and a daughter. He looked on himself as ruined, for the property of his nephews could not benefit him. The Duke comforted him and had his name entered for a fair and good income for him and his company, and thus he lived for seven years, and was the most elegantly dressed man at the court. And the good Duke of Athens remarked his good sense and his understanding, although he did not pretend to remark it; and moreover he found him full of wisdom in counsel.'²

¹ In Spanish 'micer Bonifaci de Verona.'

² I have translated from Buchon's version of Muntaner.

§ 30. *Bonifacio da Verona knights Guy, Duke of Athens.* Mantaner recounts the following incident, 'afin que les rois, fils de rois et riches-hommes prennent bon exemple.'

'It came to pass one day that the good Duke of Athens wished to take the order of knighthood; and he convoked the cortès of all the land, and ordained that on St. John's day in June all the noble men in his duchy should assemble in Thebes, where he wished to take the order of knighthood. He likewise convoked the prelates and all other good people (*bonnes gens*). Then he caused to be published in all the empire, in all the Despotate and all Vlachia, that every man who desired to come thither had only to present himself and he would receive from him favours and presents. And this plenary court was proclaimed six months before its assemblage.

'So at the time at which the duke convoked his plenary court, everyone hastened to get fair apparel made for himself and his suite, and also to distribute such to the jongleurs in order to give more lustre to the court. Well, the day of the high court arrived, and in all the court there was no one more elegantly and more nobly dressed than Messire Boniface and his company. He had fully a hundred brands [of wax] marked with his arms. He borrowed wherewith to defray all their expense, engaging in advance the money which he was to receive later. Well, the festival commenced in splendid wise. And when they came into the great church where the duke was to receive the order of knighthood, the Archbishop of Thebes said Mass, and on the altar were deposited the arms of the duke. All awaited with anxiety the moment at which the duke should receive the order of knighthood, and they imagined as a great marvel that the King of France and the Emperor would have disputed it and have held it a great honour that the duke should wish to receive the order of chivalry from their hands. And at the moment at which all were thus expectant, he caused Messire Boniface da Verona to be called. He immediately presented himself and the duke said to him: 'Messire Boniface, sit here quite close to the Archbishop, for I wish you to arm me knight.' Messire Boniface said to him: 'Ah, lord, what say you? Assuredly you jest with me.' 'No,' said the duke, 'for I wish it to be so.' And Messire Boniface seeing that he spake from the bottom of his heart, advanced to the altar near the

Archbishop and gave the duke the order of knighthood. And when he had created him knight the duke said in presence of all: 'Messire Boniface, the custom is that always those who receive a knight should make him a present. Well, I wish to do quite the opposite. You have made me knight and I give you, dating from to-day, a revenue of fifty thousand *sols* *tournois* to possess for ever, for you and yours, and all of it in castles and other goodly places and in freehold, to do with it all your will. I give you also to wife the daughter of a certain baron, who is portioned under my lordship, and who is lady of a third part of the island and the city of Negroponte.

'Lo how in one day and one hour he gave him a fair inheritance. And certes it was the most noble gift for a long time that any prince made in a single day. And it was a thing new and strange. And Messire Boniface lived rich and opulent.'

Muntaner knew Bonifacio personally and had been in his house in Negroponte. Bonifacio's habit of dressing in very rich attire seems to have produced a great impression on him. He is mistaken as to the possessions of his wife; she was not the daughter of a triarch. We have already heard of Otho de Cicon, lord of Karystos and Aegina. He and Felisa had three children, Agnes, Siegwin and Guy. In 1284 Siegwin was dead, and Guy a prisoner at Constantinople, whither Felisa went to ransom him in vain; no more was heard of him. Thus Agnes inherited Karystos, which was in the possession of the Greeks, and Aegina. Hence her husband Bonifacio was entitled Lord of Karystos, Aegina¹ and Gardiki.

§ 31. *Recovery of Karystos.* In 1296 Bonifacio determined to make Karystos and all that belonged to Agnes' heritage really as well as nominally his own. He was successful in wresting from the Greeks the three castles which they still retained in Euböia, Karystos, Larmena and Metropyle; while the Bailo J. Barozzi was attempting to recover Therasia and Santorin. It does not appear that Metropyle belonged to the Barony of Karystos, and we know that Larmena belonged to Gaetano's Sixth. We may conjecture then that Bonifacio held Larmena

¹ Bonifacio de Aragona, the grandson of Bonifacio da Verona, is named 'dominator Eghenae' and 'dominus

castri et insulae *Ligenae*'—another example of the propensity of the article to trespass.

in fief from Gaetano and Metropyle from him or one of the other triarchs. He was now one of the most important lords in Eubolia.

§ 32. *Situation in 1296; Venice.* Thus in 1296 Eubolia was again in the hands of the Latins; but the importance of Venice in the island had been greatly increased by the war with the Greeks. Accident gave the Republic at this time a specially good opportunity for interfering in the affairs of the Lombards, for the baronies happened to be altogether in the hands of ladies. Gaetano and Grapozzo the hexarchs were dead; the Sixth of the former in Southern Eubolia descended to his daughter Maria; that of Grapozzo in Northern Eubolia was in the hands of his wife Beatrice, as her son Pietro dalle Carceri was a child. The same lady Beatrice was heiress also of central Eubolia, but her mother Maria seems to have managed it, or at least part of it. The remaining two Sixths were held by Alice, sister of Marino II. All these ladies were afterwards married—Maria dalle Carceri to Alberto Pallavicini, Beatrice to Jean de Noyers, and Alice to Giorgio Ghisi—but at this time Venice and Bonifacio da Verona were the chief powers in the island.

We have already mentioned that the population of Eubolia increased in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The Jews formed an important part of the taxpayers, and in 1291 a considerable extra tax was levied on them to meet the increase of salary (250 to 400 hyperpers), which was to compensate the Venetian councillors of Negroponte for the disability to trade which had been imposed on them. The Jews addressed a petition against this hardship, which was temporarily successful, but in 1297 the innovation came into force again. Sometimes exemptions from these taxes were granted to particular families. Among foreigners who acquired property in the island and became Venetian citizens is mentioned Catarino Guercio, a Genoese. Venice herself extended her own possessions. The Bailo Nicolò Falier was directed (at end of 1281) to purchase as large a portion as possible of the site of the demolished castle of Chalkis; and in 1284 the property of one Marco Manolesso was purchased. Venetian churches were richly endowed.

The strict watch which Venice maintained over the conduct

of its officers and governors—her determination to prevent private interfering with public interests, one of the causes of her success—is illustrated by a circumstance which happened in 1289. Nicolò Quirini, who had been Bailo of Negroponte in 1275, had a dispute with Marco Sanudo, second Duke of Naxos, respecting Andros which Sanudo held and Quirini claimed. In 1289 Quirini did his utmost to secure his own appointment to the post of Bailo of Negroponte; but as it was suspected he intended to use the position in order to pursue private ends and take measures against the Duke of Naxos, the Republic refused to appoint him. The matter was arranged by a money payment on the part of Sanudo in 1292.

§ 33. *War of Venice and the Empire continued until 1303.* From 1285 to 1294 Byzantium and Venice were at peace except in Euboia, and even in Euboia perhaps there were not very serious hostilities; at least it is probable that the castles which Venice assisted in recovering were recovered before 1285, and that hostilities were suspended until Bonifacio's enterprises in 1296. But in 1294 war broke out between Genoa and Venice, and entailed on the latter a war with Andronikos. Pisa, which had lately suffered the ruinous defeat of Meloria, aided Venice with what aid it could. The Archipelago became the scene of another naval war of piratical character, in which the Venetians of Euboia took part.

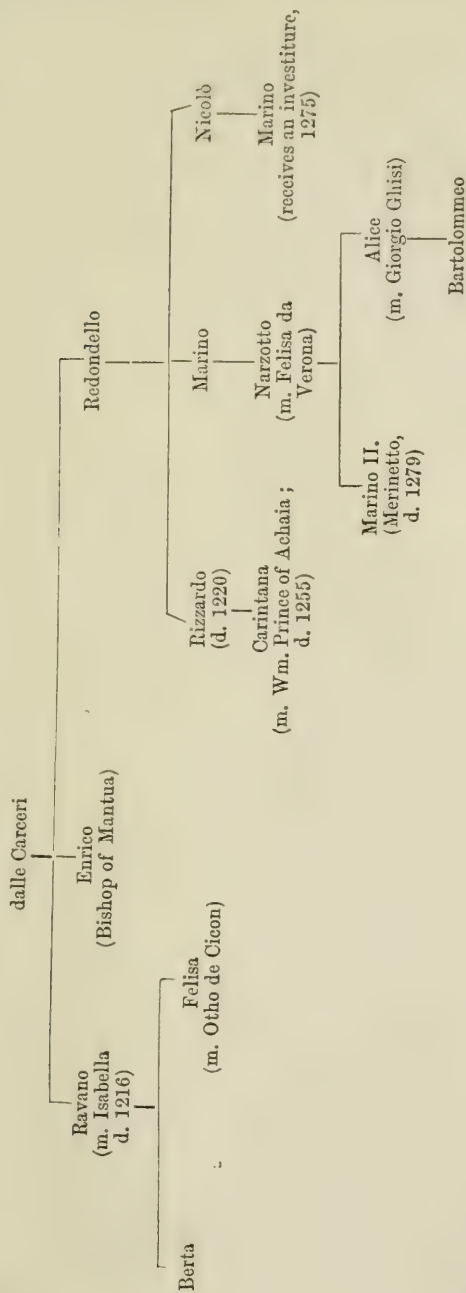
Venice made peace with Genoa in 1299, but did not come to terms with Andronikos, in spite of all attempts to negotiate a treaty until 1303. The peace of 1299 is interesting, in that it affords a parallel to the treaty of 1277 between Venice and Michael VIII. Support given by the Genoese to the Greeks against Venice was not to found a *casus belli* between the Republics. This was almost equivalent to stipulating that the war should be restricted to the east part of the Mediterranean.

At length in 1303 the war, which consisted mainly in piratical depredations (the Bailo of Negroponte fitting out *armatoli*), came to an end and a ten years' peace was made, which in 1310 was renewed for twelve years more.

I.—THE THIRDS OF EUBOIA.

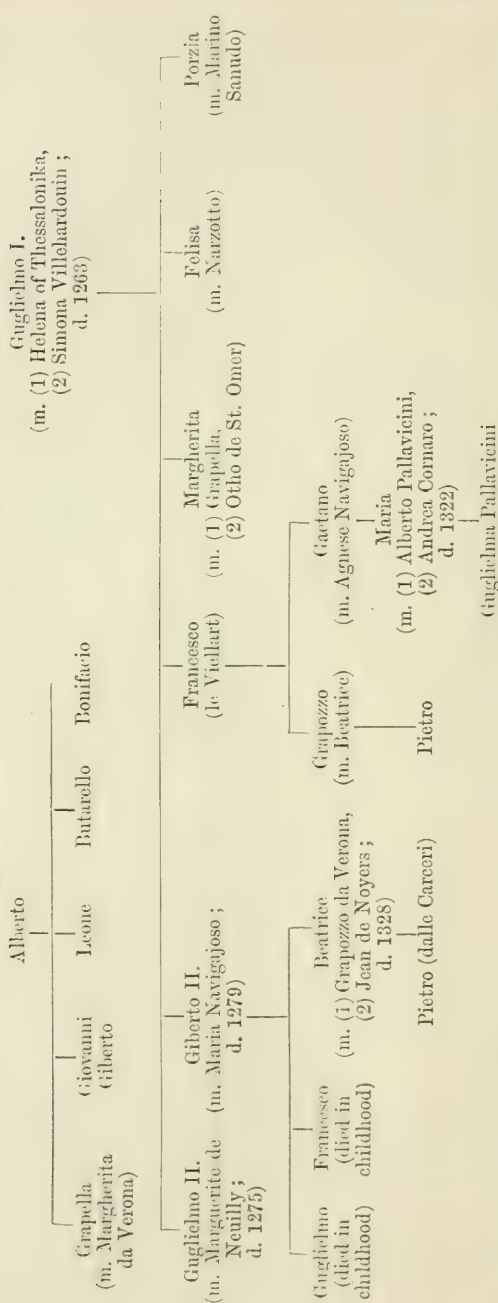
<i>Northern Third.</i>	<i>Central Third.</i>	<i>Southern Third.</i>
Pegoraro dei Pegorari, 1205	Giberto da Verona, 1205	Ravano dalle Carceri, 1205
Ravano dalle Carceri (before 1209)	Ravano dalle Carceri, 1209	
<i>First Sixth (Gross).</i>	Alberto and Guglielmo I., 1216	Berta and Isabella, 1216
Rizzardo, 1216	Guglielmo I. (before 1220)	<i>First Sixth (Lacour).</i>
Marino I., 1220	Guglielmo II., 1263	Narzotto
Carintana (? before 1247)	Gilberto II., 1275	Marino II. (before 1270)
Grapella, 1255		
(Grapozzo (before 1270)	{ Beatrice 1279 + Maria 1279 { John de Noyers (about 1303)	{ Maria { A. Cornaro
Pietro dalle Carceri (about 1315)	{ Beatrice (after 1310) { John de Noyers Beatrice, 1326	Pietro dalle Carceri, 1322
	Pietro dalle Carceri, 1328	Bart. Ghisi

II.—HOUSE OF THE DALLE CARCERI.



III.—HOUSE DA VERONA.

Giberto da Verona
(d. 1220)



NOTE.—If these genealogical tables are compared with those annexed to Hopf's *Abhandlung* on Karystos in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie* (1853), it will be found that they differ considerably. Some of the chief points in which the *Griechische Geschichte* has corrected the essay are: (1) In the essay Carintana was identified with Berta, Ravano's daughter; (2) Grapella was supposed to be a woman; (3) there was no Grapozzo; (4) Giacatano appeared as a son of Leone; (5) Alice was made a *daughter* of Marino II.; (6) Pietro was made a son of Francesco da Verona; (7) Beatrice was supposed to be the sister of Guglielmo and daughter of Maria Pallavicini.

IV.—BAILI OF NEGROPONTE.

(1216-1470.)

1216. Pietro Barbo (il Zanco).	1325-1327. Marco Minotto.
(1216-1222. Not recorded.)	1327-1329. Marco Gradenigo.
1222-1224. Benedetto Falier.	1329-1331. Filippo Belegno.
(1224-1252. Not recorded.)	1331-1333. Pietro Zeno.
1252-1254. Leone Sanudo.	1333-1335. Beleslo Civrano.
1254-1256. Paolo Gradenigo.	1335-1337. Nicolò Priuli.
1256-1258. Marco Gradenigo.	1337-1339. Andrea Dandolo.
1258-1259. Andrea Barozzi.	1339-1341. Benedetto da Molino.
1259-1261. Tommaso Giustiniani.	1341-1343. Pangrazio Giustiniani.
1261-1263. Andrea Barbarigo.	1343-1345. Nicolò Gradenigo.
1263-1265. Nicolò Barbarigo.	1345-1347. Marco Soranzo.
1265-1266. Giberto Dandolo.	1347-1349. Giovanni Dandolo.
1266-1267. Filippo Orio.	1349-1351. Tommaso Viaro.
1267-1268. Marco Bembo.	1351-1353. Nicolò Quirini.
1268-1269. Andrea Dandolo.	1353-1356. Michele Falier.
1269-1271. Andrea Zeno.	1356-1358. Giovanni Dandolo.
1271-1273. Nicolò Miglani.	1358-1360. Pietro Morosini.
1273-1275. Vittore Delfino.	1360-1362. Fantino Morosini.
1275-1276. Nicolò Quirini.	1362-1364. Pietro Gradenigo.
1276-1277. Andrea Dandolo Beretta.	1364-1366. Domenico Michieli.
1277-1278. Pietro Zeno.	1366-1368. Giovanni Giustiniani.
1278-1280. Nicolò Morosini Rosso.	1368-1370. Andrea Zeno.
1280-1282. Nicolò Falier.	1370-1372. Giovanni Delfino.
1282-1283. Andrea Zeno.	1372-1374. Bartolommeo Quirini.
1283-1285. Giovanni Zeno.	1374-1376. Pietro Mocenigo.
1285-1287. Jacopo da Molino.	1376-1378. Andrea Barbarigo.
1287-1289. Marino Soranzo.	1378-1379. Carlo Zeno.
1289-1291. Marco Michieli.	1379-1381. Pantaleone Barbo.
1291-1293. Nicolò Giustiniani.	1381-1383. Andrea Zeno.
(1293-1295. Not recorded.)	1383-1384. Marino Storlodo.
1295-1297. Jacopo Barozzi.	1384-1386. Fantino Giorgio.
1297-1299. Francesco Contarini.	1386-1387. Donato Trono.
1299-1300. Giovanni da Canale.	1387-1389. Saracino Dandolo.
1300-1302. Andrea Zeno.	1389-1391. Guglielmo Quirini.
1302-1304. Francesco Dandolo.	1391-1393. Gabriele Emo.
1304-1306. Pietro Morenigo.	1393-1395. Andrea Bembo.
1306-1308. Pietro Quirini Pizzagallo.	1395-1397. Carlo Zeno.
1308-1310. Belletto Falier.	1397-1399. Giovanni Alberto.
1310-1312. Luigi Morosini.	1399-1401. Nicolò Valaresso.
1312-1314. Enrico Delfino.	1401-1402. Francesco Bembo.
1314-1316. Gabriele Dandolo.	1402-1403. Tommaso Mocenigo.
1316-1317. Michele Morosini.	1403-1405. Bernardo Foscari.
1317-1319. Francesco Dandolo.	1405-1408. Francesco Bembo.
1319-1321. Lodovico Morosini.	1408-1410. Nicolò Venier.
1321-1322. Gabriele Dandolo.	1410-1412. Paolo Quirini.
1322-1323. Marco Michieli.	1412-1414. Benedetto Trevisani.
1323-1325. Marino Falier.	1414-1416. Nicolò Giorgio.

1416-1418. Vidale Miani.	1442-1444. Bertuccio Civrano.
1418-1420. Nicolò Malipiero.	1444-1446. Matteo Barbaro.
1420-1422. Marco Cornaro.	1446-1448. Vettore Duodo.
1422-1424. Daniele Loredano.	1448 Fantino Pisani.
1424-1425. Donato Arimondo.	1448-1451. Giovanni Malipiero.
1425-1427. Antonio Michieli.	1451-1453. Lorenzo Onorati.
1427-1429. Andrea Capello.	1453-1454. Paolo Loredano.
1429-1430. Nicolò Loredano.	1454-1456. Angelo Pesaro.
(1430-1431, vice-bailo Luigi Polano.)	1456-1459. Girolamo Bembo.
1431-1432. Andrea Gabrieli.	1459-1461. Leone Venier.
1432-1434. Maffeo Donato.	1461-1463. Leonardo Calbo.
1434-1436. Albano Sagredo.	1463-1465. Fantino Giorgio.
1436-1438. Melchiorre Grimani.	1465-1468. Francesco Gradenigo.
1438-1440. Fantino Pisani.	1468-1470. Paolo Erizzo.
1440-1442. Nicolo Buono.	

JOHN B. BURY.

(To be continued.)

A BYZANTINE REFORMER.

THE object of the present paper is to give some account of the scheme of political and social reform for the Peloponnese, which was propounded in the year 1415, by Gemistos Plethon, in the form of two pamphlets, addressed respectively to the emperor of Constantinople, Manuel Palaeologus II., and to his son, Theodore II., who at that time held the office of Despot of the Byzantine province of the Morea. These are entitled Γεωργίου Γεμιστοῦ τοῦ Πλήθωνος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἐμανουήλον περὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πραγμάτων λόγος, and Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πλήθωνος συμβουλευτικὸς πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην Θεόδωρον περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λόγος. They were first printed at Antwerp in 1575, as an appendix to the first edition of Stobaeus, W. Canter being the editor; but the manuscript from which this text was derived was imperfect, and the first complete edition was that of Dr. Ellissen of Göttingen, who published the 'Addresses,' after a collation of a manuscript existing at Florence—with a German translation, and an excellent Introduction and notes—in 1860, in the fourth part of his *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Litteratur*. The first person however who in modern times drew the attention of scholars to the importance of their contents was Prof. Fallmerayer, in his *Geschichte der Morea*, published in 1830. Though the proposals which they contain never were, and in all probability never could have been carried into effect, yet a greater interest attaches to them than to mere paper schemes and imaginary systems, because they were intended to be adapted to the circumstances of the case. But, independently of this, they are of value as throwing light on the character and ideas of their author, who was one of the most striking personalities of his age, and, from the prominent part which he played in reviving the study of the

Platonic philosophy in Western Europe, is intimately associated with the history of the Renaissance, so that even Gibbon,¹ in the midst of his contempt for the later Byzantines, devotes to him a paragraph of lofty commendation. The country also, to which they refer, was at that time passing through a remarkable phase, and whether it be regarded from the point of view of its greatness in antiquity, or as the most important remaining province of the expiring Greek empire, or as a strange congeries of nationalities, deserves at least a passing glance from the historian.²

The materials for a life of Plethon are scanty, and some important facts relating to the early portion of it rest on the authority of his strongest opponent, the Patriarch Gennadius, though there is no sufficient reason for discrediting them. He was originally called George Gemistos, and for the latter of these names Plethon was a fanciful equivalent, the two together forming a doublet of the same kind as Desiderius Erasmus, or as the 'Doblado' of our own times, Blanco White. This name he seems to have adopted in his old age, during, or shortly after, his residence in Italy at the time of the council of Ferrara and Florence, in 1438-9, for Syropulos, the historian of that council, always speaks of him as George Gemistos; and his object in making the change seems to have been, partly to assume a more purely Hellenic form, and partly perhaps to assimilate his name to that of Plato, for his disciples playing on this resemblance often spoke of him as "a second Plato." He was born at Constantinople in the middle of the fourteenth century, but the exact year of his birth is a matter of question, the only evidence with regard to it being the statement that he was nearly a hundred years old when he died in 1450. After he was grown up he betook himself to Adrianople, which since its capture by the Ottomans in 1361 had become the

¹ *Decline and Fall*, vol. viii. p. 115, ed. Smith.

² The works which I have principally used in writing this paper, are— (1) Ellissen's Introduction and Notes to his edition of Plethon's Addresses. (2) Alexandre's edition of Plethon's *Lois*, with a French translation by Pellissier, and an Introduction by the

editor, and appendices (Paris, 1858); the text of this will be referred to as *Traité des Lois*, the remainder of the volume as 'Alexandre.' (3) Schultze's *Georgios Gemistos Plethon und seine reformatorischen Bestrebungen* (Jena, 1874). The Addresses themselves will be referred to as 'Add. I.' and 'Add. II.'

capital of Sultan Amurath I., and was at that time a great resort of educated men ; it was probably the encouragement which that ruler held out to learning that attracted him thither. At that place he was much in the company of Elissacus, a Jew, who was in favour with the Turkish authorities ; he was a free-thinker, and it was perhaps owing to his teaching that Plethon gave up his belief in Christianity—to which, indeed, a thinking man was not likely to be firmly attached by the influence of the Greek Church at that period. Towards the end of the fourteenth century he seems to have migrated from Adrianople to the Peloponnese, and his preference for that country over Constantinople may have been caused by the distress which prevailed at the capital, in consequence of the inroads of the Turks and the blockade they established in Bajazet's reign. His place of residence was Mistra, the capital of that province, which was now a city of some importance, and was better suited for philosophical study than Constantinople, as being less disturbed by political excitement. Here he became a teacher, especially of philosophy, and that function he continued to exercise for the remainder of his life with great success, so that Bessarion and other leading literary men were among his pupils, and Mistra became a considerable centre of study. To the early part of this, or perhaps to the preceding period of his life, belong the numerous minor works which he composed ; consisting, in addition to the history of Greece from the death of Epaminondas to that of Philip, of illustrative extracts from a large number of the ancient Greek writers, together with original treatises on philosophy, rhetoric, geography, and astronomy. Some of these have been printed, but the majority remain in manuscript, and are to be found in various European libraries ; they attest at once his great industry and his profound learning. At the same time he won the approval of the Court of Constantinople, for he was appointed to be judge at Mistra, an office which he held until his death.

In the spring of 1415, the Emperor Manuel visited the Peloponnese, having left Constantinople the previous summer, and spent three months in subduing the island of Thasos, after which he passed the winter at Thessalonica. Before this time Plethon had addressed a letter to his sovereign on the

subject of the condition of the Peloponnese,¹ and this appears to have produced an impression upon him, for one of the first things which he undertook was the construction of a wall across the Isthmus of Corinth, in order to secure the country from invasion—a measure which Plethon had strongly recommended. Possibly it was the vigorous behaviour of the emperor on this occasion which induced Plethon to expound his views to him at greater length, for it was now that he drew up the two Addresses of which I have spoken. The latter of these—that to the Despot Theodore—was the first in order of composition, as is shown by a passage in that to the emperor, which refers to it; ² but the import of both was the same, advocating a radical change in the system of administration, the organisation of classes in society, and the tenure of land. Though these proposals were not adopted, they seem at all events to have increased the estimation of their originator as an authority, for in 1428, when the emperor John VI. (Palaeologus), the son and successor of Manuel, visited the Peloponnese, he consulted Plethon on a subject which at this time was uppermost in his mind—the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches, as a means of obtaining succour from Western Europe against the Turks. It is likely enough that the philosopher's answer was prompted by the desire of facilitating the introduction of the new religion, which he had been maturing in secret, and the prospects of which might have been impaired by a measure, which might have the effect of strengthening Christianity. Perhaps also his patriotism made him sincerely anxious to prevent his countrymen from entering into an arrangement, in which they were certain to be the losers. Anyhow, though he replied evasively, he was so far from encouraging the emperor in his project, that he laid the greatest stress on the necessity of stipulating beforehand, that in any deliberative assembly, which might be summoned for this purpose, the votes should be taken in such a way, as to secure equal influence to both parties—a condition, to which the other side were pretty certain not to agree. However, ten years later, when the pressing needs of the Greeks increased their eagerness for overtures, Plethon was appointed one of the representatives of the Eastern Church at the Council which

¹ Schultze, p. 41.

² Add. I. c. 25.

met first at Ferrara and subsequently at Florence, notwithstanding that he was unfavourably disposed towards the result at which it aimed, and that the orthodoxy of his religious views was already seriously questioned. When the council was assembled, he was appointed one of the committee for preparing the questions for discussion, and he rendered valuable aid to his side by exposing a forged manuscript of the Second Council of Nicaea, containing the doctrine of the *Filioque*, which was submitted by their opponents. Throughout the debates he came forward as a strong opponent of the union; but his conduct at this time can hardly be acquitted of the charge of dissimulation, for both to the Greek Patriarch, and to his pupil Bessarion, who was one of his coadjutors, he definitely professed himself a Christian.

At the time of his visit to Italy Plethon was more than eighty years old, and his venerable age and dignified appearance, as well as the estimation in which he was held in that country as an authority—arising, we may suppose, from several of the leading teachers of that period having been his scholars—caused him to be regarded with great reverence. It was thus that he won the attention of Cosimo de' Medici; and the eloquence with which he expounded the Platonic philosophy so fascinated that prince, and the learned society by which he was surrounded, that he then conceived the idea, which he subsequently carried out, of founding the Florentine Academy for the study of Plato's works. This was the origin of the revival of the admiration for that philosopher in Western Europe—a movement, which gave a lively impulse to the rebellion against Aristotle, and the scholastic philosophy that was based on him, which had commenced at this time. Plethon himself composed and published in Florence a treatise *On the points of difference between Aristotle and Plato* (Περὶ ὧν Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸς Πλάτωνα διαφέρεται), which was intended chiefly to demonstrate the superiority of his favourite philosopher.

After the conclusion of the council Plethon returned to Mistra, where he resumed his functions as judge. He soon became engaged in a controversy with George Scholarios (afterwards the Patriarch Gennadius), who held the office of Chief Justice (καθολικὸς κριτής) at Constantinople, and had taken part in the council as a layman; at that time he was an advocate of the

union of the two churches, but after his return he warmly adopted the opposite view. The question of Aristotle's views was the nominal subject of discussion between them, but the real point at issue was Plethon's views of Christianity, with the nature of which Gennadius was acquainted. During the remainder of his life we may conceive of him as engaged in completing his system of philosophy, and in communicating his esoteric doctrines to a body of select disciples, whom he had gathered round him, and in company with whom, in all probability, he celebrated the strange religious worship which he devised. He died, at the age of nearly 100 years, in 1450, and therefore was spared the grief of seeing Constantinople captured and the Peloponnese subjugated by the Turks. His sons inherited the lands which from time to time had been bestowed on him by the Byzantine emperors. In 1465 his bones were brought from Mistra to Rimini by an admirer, Sigismund Pandulph Malatesta, and were deposited in a newly erected church of St. Francis in that place: a link of connection had previously existed between Plethon and that family, since he had pronounced a funeral oration over Cleopa, the wife of the Despot Theodore II., who was a Malatesta of Rimini, and died at Mistra. The most salient features in his character were idealism and energy, which were combined in a remarkable degree, and account for the influence which he exercised on others. There is abundance of evidence to prove both the excellence of his moral character, and his uprightness as a judge; and, in particular, his great adversary, Gennadius, spoke of him after his death as a worthy example of virtue for the young to imitate. The style of Greek which he employed in his writings is more classical than that of his contemporaries, and is free from the rhetorical verbosity of the ordinary Byzantines. Its fault is an affectation of Atticism, which, though Gibbon professes to admire it, was ridiculed by his contemporaries, and, in consequence of his fondness for recondite phrases, often renders him difficult to understand.

During his lifetime Plethon had communicated his doctrines orally, and had only published a few short treatises, which embodied disconnected portions of his philosophic views. But he was known to have compiled a work, which embraced the whole of his teaching, and on which he relied to bring to pass the

great revolution which had been the aim of his life. This was his *Treatise on the Laws* (Συγγραφή περὶ Νόμων), or, as he himself called it, *Code of Laws* (Νόμων Συγγραφή), of which we have now to speak. That such a work existed as early as 1428 is known from the express testimony of Gennadius, who, in his letter addressed to Joseph the Exarch on this subject,¹ affirms that he became acquainted with the nature of its contents when he visited the Peloponnese in the company of the emperor John in that year; but it does not follow from this, as has sometimes been supposed, that the treatise was completed, or even that the philosopher's views were wholly matured at that time, though his advanced age is in favour of the latter supposition. Only fragments of the work now remain, for it was destroyed shortly after his death. The history of this proceeding is as follows: At the time of the author's death, his book passed into the hands of Demetrius Palaeologus, who had succeeded his brother Constantine as Despot at Mistra in 1448, when the latter became emperor of Constantinople in the place of John VI. Demetrius would allow no copy to be taken of it; and when Mahomet II. conquered the Peloponnese in 1460, and brought that prince as prisoner to Constantinople, Demetrius handed over the work in person to Gennadius, who had now been created Patriarch. A short perusal of it convinced Gennadius of the polytheistic nature of the religious views which it contained, and he thereupon committed it to the flames, sparing only the contents at the beginning and the hymns to the gods at the end, with a view to his own justification. Modern writers on the subject have generally acquitted the Patriarch of any unworthy personal motive for this proceeding, such as malevolence towards a former antagonist, and have decided that according to the ideas of the period, as the book was formally submitted to him as the head of the Orthodox Communion, he could hardly have acted otherwise. There is no doubt that Plethon would have done the same thing in like circumstances, for in his code, death by burning is the punishment for all who should disseminate views in opposition to his tenets. Besides the portions which Gennadius reserved, various fragments now exist, one of which—the chapter *On Fate* (περὶ εἰμαρμένης)—was published in the lifetime of the author, perhaps during his

¹ Alexandre, Append. xix., pp. 412, 413.

residence at Florence. The remainder may be accounted for by the supposition that copies of certain parts were possessed by his pupils. All these were collected and edited in 1858 by M. Alexandre.

The object which Plethon proposed to himself in the three books of the *Laws* was to provide men with rules of life, according to which they could live well and happily. But, in order to discover wherein the happiness of man consists, he finds it necessary to understand both the nature of man himself, and the system of which he is a part—that is, the universe. Hence his treatise was intended to be, not so much a legislative code, as a complete system of philosophy. In this scheme theology occupies the primary place. ‘Everything in human life,’ he says, ‘as regards its being done rightly and wrongly, depends on our religious beliefs.’¹ Thus a great part of the work was devoted to the investigation of what he conceived to be the truths of religion, and to prescribing forms of worship in accordance with his views. Among the teachers, whom he specially mentions as his intellectual and spiritual guides in this and his other enquiries, Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Plato and Plotinus hold the most prominent place. From the discussion of man’s religious duties he proceeds to those which he owes to himself and to his fellow-men. The nature of his teaching on these we have to gather, as far as this book is concerned, from what is introduced in connection with the subject of religion, for the parts of the work which relate to Virtue and to Government are lost. But, though it is somewhat hazardous to draw conclusions with regard to an author’s ultimate opinions from his earlier writings, it is probable that his existing essay *On Virtue* (*Περὶ ἀρετῆς*)—which seems to have been written early in the fifteenth century, and has been described as a combination of Platonic and Stoic views on that subject²—represents the ethical teaching of the *Laws*; and that the political ideas embodied in that work did not greatly differ from what is found in the *Addresses on the subject of the Peloponnese*. This latter point receives some confirmation from what is said with regard to the treatment of this part of the subject in the brief summary prefixed to the *Laws*.³

¹ *Traité des Lois*, p. 130.

³ *Traité des Lois*, p. 2.

² Schultze, p. 220.

Plethon is represented as having expressed, during his stay at Florence, the belief that both Christianity and Mahometanism would ere long be superseded by a religion not greatly differing from that of the ancient Greeks¹—by which he meant his own. This was, in fact, a strange form of Neo-Platonic polytheism. Whether the gods of Plethon's system are to be regarded as embodiments of Plato's Ideas, or as a resuscitation of the Acons of Gnosticism, or as an eclectic combination of the two, his object was to reconstruct paganism on the ruins of existing creeds. But this paganism was such as no ancient Greek would recognise, for the functions and relationships of the Hellenic divinities are completely perverted. Zeus, indeed, is the supreme god, but Kronos (for instance), instead of being the father, is the illegitimate son of Zeus, and he together with the other Titans represent the Ideas of the mortal and perishable, though they are immortal and imperishable themselves. In like manner the other divinities have other functions in the order of the universe assigned to them, without reference to their classical attributes. The whole scheme is one of many attempts to bridge over the chasm which separates the world of sense from a transcendental original, by tracing gradations in the evolution of the chain of existence; but Plethon does not even endeavour, as others had done, to explain the origin of evil, for he represents the illegitimate children of Zeus, equally with the legitimate, as being sprung directly from him, though they create mortals, who are subject to evil.² The Neo-Platonist philosopher, whose scheme of polytheism most nearly resembled his, as Gennadius pointed out, was Proclus.³ But it must not be supposed that these divinities, however arbitrary and fanciful their names may be, were in Plethon's mind merely allegorical. On the contrary, they were to him in the highest degree living realities, on whose personal superintendence the universe depended. His whole system of religious worship is pervaded by an intense spirit of dogmatic belief, which on any other supposition is meaningless. As regards a future state, he believed in metempsychosis, which he contrasts advantageously

¹ George of Trebizond, in Alexandre, p. xvi. note 1.

² See Hymn xii., in *Traité des Lois*, p. 213.

³ Gennadius' letter to Joseph the Exarch, in Alexandre, Append. xix. p. 424; see also Proclus' scheme, as given by Alexandre, pp. lxxx, lxxxi.

with the Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul.¹ In the latter of the two Addresses, that to the Despot Theodore, we can trace—faintly indeed, but with tolerable clearness both from what is stated and from what is omitted—the outlines of these views.²

The forms of worship, which were to be the support of this theological system, consisted of allocutions, or addresses to the gods, and hymns. The former of these partake partly of the character of creeds, and partly of prayers; and perhaps the professions of faith and the didactic element, which they contain, may explain the absence of anything corresponding to sermons in Plethon's services. The hymns are composed in dactylic hexameters, regulated by quantity, the metre of which is of a nature to set a scholar's teeth on edge. In these all the deities are invoked in turn, more or less frequently, according to their dignity, and they consist both of recitals of their attributes, and of prayers for special graces. The principles of self-regulation and rules of conduct, which are indirectly suggested, both in these and the allocutions, are often excellent. In addition to these, rules are prescribed for fasts and festivals, for sacred seasons, for the observance of the services, and for the prostrations to be used in them; besides which there is to be an order of priests, and also of heralds—an office corresponding, apparently, to the *muezzin* who call the Mahometans to prayer. Plethon lays stress in one place on the importance of restricting this religious worship within the limits which suffice to influence the imagination.³ The ordinary reader will rather be disposed to question whether there is anything here to affect the imagination at all, for anything drier or more uninspiring than these addresses and hymns it is difficult to conceive. No part of his proposals, indeed, is more unpractical than that which relates to these services. No one but a theorist could have conceived, that a people, who were attached to a form of worship, however debased, could be led to profit by such stiff and, to all but quite the initiated, unmeaning prayers.

Having in this manner obtained some idea of the person who

¹ *Traité des Lois*, pp. 258–260.

² Add. II. cc. 15–18.

³ *Traité des Lois*, p. 152; μήτε αὖ τὸ

μέτριόν τε, καὶ ὀπόσον γ' ἂν ἡμῶν τὸ
φανταστικὸν ἱκανὸν πλάττειν, ὑπερ-
βάλλοντες.

proposed to reform the Peloponnese at the commencement of the fifteenth century, let us endeavour to realise the state of the country to which these reforms were to be applied. Besides what we can gather from Plethon's own remarks, some curious evidence on the subject is afforded by the satire entitled *Mazaris*, of which an account has been given in a previous article in this *Journal*¹ on 'Byzantine Satire,' and which appears to have been composed almost identically at the same time as Plethon's two *Addresses*. The author of that story was a person who combined a highly malevolent disposition with a strong sense of burlesque humour, so that the same circumstances, which suggested to the philosopher serious plans of reform, furnished him with an opportunity for satire. Indeed, it is not a little curious to think of Mistra as containing at once two writers of such opposite temperaments, the one of whom invested the Peloponnese in his imagination with a halo of its former glories, while the other makes one of his characters, who had lately returned from a visit to Hades, say, that it was a question whether the Morea (or Mora, as he calls it,) or the infernal regions were the more objectionable abode.² The statements in *Mazaris*, therefore, require to be accepted with caution, though they receive some corroboration from other sources. The town of Mistra, or Mizithra, which by the writers of this period is often called Sparta or Lacedaemon, was built on a spur of Taygetus, on the opposite side of the valley to the ancient city. For a description of its site, and for an account of its foundation, history, and present condition, I may refer to what I have written in a paper on 'The Franks in the Peloponnese.'³ It was now the capital of the province, and a populous and flourishing Byzantine city. But before proceeding further, it may be well to notice a passage in *Mazaris*, in which the races who then inhabited the country are enumerated.

At this time, the writer says, there were seven races in the Peloponnese, besides persons of mixed parentage—viz., Lacedaemonians, Italians, Peloponnesians, Sthlavinians, Illyrians, Egyptians, and Jews.⁴ Possibly, as he was deeply versed in

¹ vol. ii. pp. 257 foll.

pp. 176, 178; 227–233.

² *Mazaris*, c. 19.

⁴ *Mazaris*, c. 22.

³ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. iv.

classic lore, the number seven may have been suggested to him by a passage in Herodotus,¹ where the historian divides the inhabitants of that country at the period of which he wrote into the same number of races; though the author himself, with characteristic virulence, goes on to say, that seven is the sacred number, and is polluted and dishonoured by being applied to such rascals as the Moreotes. Anyhow, it is possible to determine what nationalities are signified by these titles. (1) The Lacedaemonians are the old, and probably Hellenic, tribe of Tzacונים, of whom Mazaris says elsewhere, 'The Laconians have been barbarised, and are now called Tzacונים.'² Of this people at the present day not more than fifteen hundred families remain, and these inhabit a district in the east of Laconia, but at an earlier period they extended over a much wider area in the same neighbourhood, and were an important factor in the population. They are mentioned by some of the Byzantine historians, from Constantine Porphyrogenitus onwards, and also in the Frankish *Chronicle of the Conquest of the Morea*. Their language, to which considerable attention has been devoted by philologists, is markedly different from modern Greek, and appears to be a genuine survival of an ancient dialect. It is curious that the specimens of it given in *Mazaris* are not Tzaconian at all, but only forms of the popular language; though this is less surprising in a satirist, who cared more to collect material for ridicule, than to observe accuracy of statement.³ (2) The Italians are the remains of the Latin conquerors of the Peloponnese, who originally were mainly of French extraction, but now might fairly be described as Italian, because they were confined to the Venetians, and to the Zaccaria family in Achaia. (3) By the Peloponnesians are intended the Greek inhabitants of the country at large, who, though their blood was mixed with a Slavonic element, had assimilated most of the settlers of that race who had invaded the country during the middle ages, and now included the vast majority of the population. (4) The Sthlavinians are the two

¹ Herod. viii. 73.

² *Mazaris*, c. 19.

³ Hertzberg, (*Geschichte Griechenlands*, ii. p. 468, note) following Hopf, *Griechische Geschichte*, in Brockhaus'

Griechenland, vii., pp. 183, 184, believes—but in my judgment without sufficient reason—that by the 'Lacedaemonians' are here meant the Byzantine officials at Mistra.

remaining Slavonic tribes, the Melings and Ezerites, who inhabited the lower slopes of Taygetus. These, though at the present day they have disappeared and left no trace, at the beginning of the fifteenth century still preserved their nationality and language. A century earlier another tribe, the Skortans, in the mountain region of north-western Arcadia, would have had to be added to these, but in the interval they had been completely mastered by the Greeks. (5) By the Illyrians are meant the Albanians, who now form the majority of the inhabitants of certain parts of Greece, but were first introduced into the Peloponnese in the middle of the fourteenth century by Manuel Cantacuzene, the son of the Emperor of Constantinople. The object of this proceeding was to repeople those districts which had been depopulated in the course of the struggle between the Franks and Greeks, and especially Arcadia; and to plant there a rude and vigorous race, whose energy was greater, and whose needs were fewer, than those of their predecessors. At the same time it was a necessary result of this, that the standard of civilisation in the country was so far lowered. We may notice in passing, that a number of these Albanians, when they were driven out of the Morea by Mahomet II., occupied the islands of Hydra and Spezia, and that it was from them that Miaoulis and other naval heroes of that nationality were descended, who effected so much in the cause of Greek independence. (6) The 'Egyptians' are the Gipsies, who were called by the Franks in the Peloponnese Acingani. This people, as is well known, sprang originally from India, and migrated westward at different periods. The branch that afterwards entered Greece came into Europe in the thirteenth century, in connection with Genghis Khan's conquests, and after settling for some time in Wallachia, passed into the neighbouring countries, and in particular into the Peloponnese, which they reached by way of Aetolia and the Straits. Their settlements were discouraged by the Palaeologi, but the Venetians on the other hand favoured them, and they were allowed to inhabit streets in the neighbourhood of their towns, and of other headquarters of the Franks in Greece. (7) The Jews from old times had maintained colonies in Greece, though they were treated with contumely by the Greeks, and were restricted by the Venetians to the exercise of retail trade. But

the latter people tolerated them, in the same way as they did the Gipsies; and the names of 'Jews' Castle' (Ἑβραϊόκαστρο) and 'Gipsies' Castle' (Γυφτόκαστρο), which are attached to many ruins in Greece, and are a standing puzzle to the traveller, date from this period, and are a memorial of the settlements of those races in the suburbs of the cities.¹

The history of the Peloponnese during the two preceding centuries has been told from the point of view of its Latin occupants, who conquered the country subsequently to the Fourth Crusade, in the paper already referred to on *The Franks in the Peloponnese*. But it may be well briefly to notice here the circumstances which particularly affected the Byzantine province, and led up to the condition of things which Mazaris ridiculed, and Plethon sought to remedy. It was in 1262, fifty-seven years after the first invasion, that the tide turned in favour of the Greeks, when William Villehardouin, having been made prisoner at the battle of Pelagonia, ceded the fortresses of Monemvasia and Grand-Maina, and the newly-established city of Mistra, to the emperor Michael VIII., as the price of his freedom. From that time onward the Greek power in the Peloponnese slowly, but steadily, advanced, until, in 1320, they made themselves masters of the two border fortresses of Karitena and Akova in north-western Arcadia. After this only Messenia, Elis, and the northern coast of the peninsula remained in the hands of the Frankish principality. From the period of Manuel Cantacuzene (1349) the Byzantine province in the Morea was of sufficient importance to be erected into a separate despotat, and became the appanage of the second son of the emperor of Constantinople as imperial viceroy: to this office Theodore Palaeologus, the son of the emperor John V., was appointed in 1388. But meanwhile, in 1381, the Frankish dominions had been conquered by the Navarrese Company, a band of adventurers resembling the Catalan Grand Company; and subsequently their leader, Peter de San Superan, whose one object was to maintain his own position, solicited aid from Sultan Bajazet to assist him against the Greeks. In answer to this appeal, the Ottoman general, Evrenos-bey, was sent with a body of troops in 1397, and overran and devastated the Morea, and made both Theodore and Peter himself tributary. From this yoke they

¹ Hertzberg, *op. cit.* pp. 470-473.

were delivered by the advance of Timour, which resulted in the battle of Angora, and Bajazet's captivity (A.D. 1402); but the invasion had sufficiently proved how little power existed in the country for resisting a serious attack. In fact, at this time Theodore, in despair at his own weakness, had offered to cede his dominions to the Knights of Rhodes, and was only prevented from doing so by the people of Mistra rising in revolt, and refusing to admit the detachment which was sent to occupy the place. But the fall of Bajazet, and the disorganised condition of the Ottoman power which followed, afforded the Greeks a respite, which suggested to them the hope of ultimate escape. The Despot, Theodore I., died in 1407, and was succeeded in that office by Theodore II., the son of the emperor Manuel. In 1415, as has been already mentioned, that emperor visited the Morea in person, and provided that the isthmus should be defended by a wall, in order to secure the country against future inroads. As all that remained of the Byzantine empire was Constantinople and the neighbouring part of Thrace, one or two islands, the city of Thessalonica, and the Peloponnese, it was evident that the last-named province was the most important possession of the Greeks, next to the capital. Plethon, therefore, was justified in appealing to the emperor, and to the despot, who was his immediate ruler, to reorganise the country in such a manner that it might be capable of providing for its own defence.

But the condition of things, which it was proposed to remedy, seems to have been almost desperate, when we consider it in the light of the descriptions of Mazaris and Plethon, together with what we can gather from other sources. First among the causes of confusion was the behaviour of the ruling class, or archonts. The emperor Cantacuzene, in his *History*, when speaking of these men, says, not without a touch of humour, that their love of disturbance and their traditionary feuds were such, that they neglected the laws of Lycurgus, and observed only one of those of Solon, namely, that which placed under a ban those citizens who refused to join either side in a sedition.¹ This remark had reference to their treatment of his son Manuel, when he tried to introduce order into the country and to conciliate the chief men. For, whereas before that time they had

¹ Cantacuzene, vol. iii., p. 87, ed. Bonn.

been constantly quarrelling among themselves, and pillaging one another, when he appeared on the scene, they immediately combined against him. The satirical description of the same class by Mazaris is even more rasping. 'If you wish,' he says, 'to estimate the character of the Peloponnesians—the wrongs they inflict day and night on one another, their disloyalty to their sovereign and general disregard of law, their truce-breaking, perjuries, and murders—you will find them, one and all, heady and bloodthirsty, rapacious, haughty and contentious; you will find their honour false, and full of deceit and treachery; in a word, in their dealings with one another, each of them has three different sides—their tongue speaks one thing, their mind devises another, and their actions execute a third.'¹ In particular, when the emperor Manuel had constructed the wall which was to defend the isthmus, the same writer accuses them of threatening to pull it down, and of boasting that they would ruin him, either secretly or by open violence.² Plethon also by implication passes a similar condemnation. When speaking of the necessity of drawing a sharp distinction between the functions of different classes, he says that the ruling class should be such in reality, and not only in name, exercising their authority for the preservation and protection of the rest of the citizens but abstaining from mean occupations, such as trade, and especially from unfair dealing in these, *i.e.*, from injuring the oppressed agriculturists by the use of unfair weights, and in numerous other ways.³ The inherited feuds, which prevailed among these landholders, may remind us of the *vendetta*, which still exists among the mountaineers of Maina, the district of the ancient Taenarian promontory, where each family lives within its own walled enclosure, and is animated by irreconcilable hatred towards one or another of its neighbours.

Another prevailing evil was the hardships to which the people at large were exposed. The rural population not only paid taxes, but were expected at a moment's notice to leave their occupations and serve in the army, when occasion arose; and the taxes, though not heavy, were exacted at frequent intervals, and by numerous collectors, and were rendered more burdensome by being required to be paid in money and not in kind. As Plethon remarks, it was not to be expected that persons

¹ *Mazaris*, c. 21.² *ibid.* c. 23.³ *Add.* II. c. 24.

who were forced into military service, and in many cases were unprovided with arms, and whose thoughts were occupied with their farms and crops, should be suitable defenders of the country.¹ At the same time it was these very persons who had been most impoverished by the long-continued struggle with the Franks, since their homesteads, their agricultural implements, and the produce of their farms, had been destroyed in the continual forays. Justice, also, was imperfectly administered, and the currency was greatly debased. But the most hopeless sign was the demoralised condition of the people at large. Of the numerous races whom Mazaris enumerates, there were several, of whom, as aliens, no patriotism could be expected; and the half-breeds, or Gasmuls, as they were called—the offspring of marriages between Franks and Greeks—would naturally be, from their equivocal position, the most untrustworthy of all. But it would seem also that the Greeks of the middle and lower classes, who formed the great body of the population, had become deeply corrupted by the long-continued insecurity, and the absence of healthy influences. The sources of weakness arising from these causes, and still more the danger to which they were exposed from the superior power of the Turks, Plethon saw as clearly as any one; he admits that the position is almost desperate, but he protests against giving way to despair, as cowardly and unreasonable. To him the regeneration of nationalities was one of the lessons of history. Troy, he said, had risen again in Rome, the Persian empire in the Parthian; and so he believed that a future might be in store for Greece, if only the right measures were adopted.²

What those right measures were, we have now to consider. At the commencement of his first Address he assures the emperor that his object is to make such suggestions as may be of service to the country, and it is easy to see that his general ideas on reform were suggested by the existing state of the empire. The wall that had recently been constructed across the Isthmus, he felt, would be useless, unless behind it there lay a state which was capable of defending it, and such a state could not exist except under conditions greatly differing from those under which they were at present living; in fact, a social

¹ Add. I. c. 7.

² Add. II., cc. 2, 3, 20.

and moral renovation of the people was necessary. It is important not to leave this out of sight, or to suppose that Plethon was guided simply by speculative considerations in the scheme of reform which he proposed, when we notice the influence that ancient precedents, and the authority of Aristotle, and still more of Plato, exercised upon him. He was, indeed, before all things, a Hellenist. Instead of priding himself, as Byzantines generally did, on being a *Ῥωμαῖος*, he lays stress, over and over again, on the Greeks generally, but above all the Peloponnesians, being *Ἕλληνες*. He interprets the history of his own period by the light of classical times, occasionally even to the verge of absurdity. To him the hostility of the Turks is a form of revenge for the subjugation of their supposed ancestors, the Paropamisadae, or inhabitants of Afghanistan, whom Alexander conquered on his way to India.¹ In appealing to the emperor for support, he reminds him of the debt which Constantinople owed to the Peloponnese, because the city of Megara, of which Byzantium was a colony, was closely bound to that country by the ties of Dorian kinship.² And when he comes to subjects further removed from the sphere of pedantry, he has the experience of antiquity before his eyes, when he reminds those whom he addresses of the self-sufficing character of the district in respect of its products, and of the facilities which it offered for defence. At the same time he had sufficient consciousness of the necessities of the time to propose measures, which, in his opinion, might remedy the existing evils.

According to Plethon's scheme, society should be divided into three separate classes: (1) the cultivators of the soil; (2) those employed in trade and manufactures; (3) those whose function it is to preserve order. Under the last head are included the prince, the judges and other administrators of the law, all government agents and similar officials, and the soldiery; these are the *ἀρχικὸν φύλον*. The best form of government, he thinks, is monarchy, provided that the ruler is advised and guided by a council of state composed of a moderate number of persons—neither few enough to intrigue for their private interests, nor sufficiently numerous to be swayed by unreasoning impulse; and, further, of men of moderate means, who are free from the temptation to rapacity arising from great wealth (as

¹ Add. II. c. 2.

² Add. I. c. 3.

in the case of the archonts), and from the dependence caused by poverty.¹ The occupations of these three classes he would keep carefully distinct; and he specially provides that the governing class should not engage in trade—an arrangement which was intended to check the abuses, which we have already noticed as being practised by the same aristocrats, and probably, also, those of the tax-collectors, and other Byzantine officials.² A further restriction forbids the employment of public money for the purpose of rewarding those who, either by important services, or by handsome contributions, had deserved well of the state; such persons are sufficiently requited by the higher estimation in which they are held. Such benefactors as receive in the form of gifts a recognition of their former liberality, he compares to the cow that, after having been milked, kicked over the milkpail.³ We may infer from this that an extensive system of bounties and largesses prevailed; and in a society where place-hunting was found to the extent which is described in *Maxuris*, these would hardly be confined to public benefactors.

In a similar manner, though for a different reason, the tax-paying agriculturists are to be kept distinct from the rest of the community, and especially from the soldiery. At first sight this arrangement appears like a revival of a part of the old Byzantine statecraft. During the flourishing period of the Eastern empire, no feature of the administrative system was so jealously maintained as the separation of those who paid taxes from those who served in the army. The object of this was twofold. On the one hand, in order to support the revenue, it was necessary to guarantee that a sufficient number of families should contribute to the exchequer; on the other, the natural jealousy which was felt by the central government of entrusting the provincials with arms, comprising as they did a variety of peoples, whose allegiance to the empire was easily relaxed, and who often had the will, if they had the power, to revolt, suggested the expediency of maintaining the army in an independent position. But the object that Plethon had in view was a different one, viz. to equalise the burdens of the state, and to maintain an efficient military force. The taxes were to be paid entirely by the cultivators of the soil. This

¹ Add. II. c. 7.² Add. II. c. 24.³ Add. I. c. 17.

arrangement he justifies, because their needs are provided for by the other two classes; the ruling class guarantees them safety and order, the trading class the instruments of work, and means of life. But those who bear the fiscal burdens ought not at the same time to be responsible for the defence of the country, and are therefore to be exempt from service in the army, for which, besides, their want of experience and training renders them unfit. On this ground—because they paid taxes, and took no part in administration and defence—Plethon, with a fine disregard of the associations of an opprobrious name, calls this class the Helots.¹ At the same time he affirms that they ought to be held in honour, as the chief support of the commonwealth, and carefully guarded against additional exactions.

In reviewing the system of the army, he strongly protests against the use of mercenaries, as being an untrustworthy defence, and liable to turn against their employers.² In order that the soldiers may at once have a stake in the country, and be well trained and ready for service, he proposes a twofold method. The soldiery will be drawn mainly from the agricultural class, but will pay no taxes. In those districts where the population generally are capable of bearing arms, a system of pairs is to be established, so that two men should possess common capital and common property, and that one should work while the other serves, and *vice versâ*. On the other hand, where a considerable portion of the people are unfit to bear arms, the soldiers are to have Helots assigned to them—a foot-soldier one, a cavalry-soldier two, and the officers more in proportion—on the understanding that they should receive the amount which such Helots would otherwise pay to the exchequer.³ In this way a standing army would be formed, which would have many of the advantages, and none of the disadvantages of a militia; and by means of this it would be possible both to guard the wall across the Isthmus and the strong places in different parts of the country, and to have a force in readiness to take the field when required.

The monks, who at that time formed a numerous body in the country, Plethon regards, as might be supposed, with no favour.

¹ Add. I. c. 13.

³ Add. I. c. 14; II. c. 10.

² Add. I. c. 9; II. c. 10.

In speaking of them as 'professing philosophers' (οἱ φιλοσοφεῖν φάσκοντες)¹ he is only using a term, which from the time of the Christian Fathers was applied to the monks of St. Basil, as they were supposed to devote their lives to retirement and contemplation, but he evidently intended the phrase to convey a sarcasm. He calls them the drones of the community. He would tolerate them, and allow them to retain their possessions, but denies them any share in the public revenues, to which they contribute nothing. On the other hand, to the higher clergy he would assign a certain number of Helots for the service of their households, regarding them as state officers. And in like manner, the higher officials, and especially the Despot, are to be provided with attendants by this means.

In discussing the question of imposts, he enumerates three modes of taxation, and discusses their relative advantages and disadvantages; all these, it may be observed, exist in the Turkish empire at the present day. First, there is the system of compulsory labour (*ἀγγαρεία*, *corvée*), according to which persons are required to give their services to the state *gratis*, in constructing roads and fortifications, and in any similar employment which may be assigned to them. This he dismisses, as being excessively burdensome, besides which, enforced bodily labour is derogatory to a free man. The second system is that of payment in money. Plethon's objections to this arose from the abuses which it had produced in practice. The amount exacted had been a fixed sum, and had not varied according to the income of the contributor; it had not been demanded in a single payment, but in the form of numerous small items, and at different periods; and each of these had been paid to a different collector, by which means the opportunities of extortion had been greatly increased. These hardships had been further aggravated by the debasement of the coinage, which destroyed the regular standard of value, and gave openings for innumerable disputes. Under these circumstances he advocates the third method of taxation, that by payment in kind; this was to amount to a certain proportion of the year's produce, which was never to be exceeded, and it was to be paid at one time, and to one collector.² Plethon does not notice—probably he was not aware of—the primary evil of

¹ Add. I. c. 15.² Add. I. c. 11; II. c. 12.

this system, which renders it so oppressive in Turkey at the present day, viz. that the grain has to be left in the threshing-floor or elsewhere, exposed to damage from the weather, sometimes for many weeks, until the collector has made his rounds.

This leads us to the most revolutionary part of the reformer's proposals, his arrangement for the tenure of land. He appears here as a socialist. The inhabitants of a country at large have an inalienable right to the possession of the soil, and the ownership of this should be vested in the state to the exclusion of private holdings. He acknowledges the harshness which was involved in such a change, but excuses it on the plea of the necessities of the case and the pressure of circumstances, and expresses his willingness to withdraw his proposal in favour of any other which could claim to be a better solution of their difficulties. The affection with which a family may regard its ancestral possessions he philosophically ignores, suggesting that the loss of these would be sufficiently compensated by the opportunities afforded to them of occupying whatever land they chose elsewhere. His practical object seems to have been to prevent the large landholders from claiming extensive districts, which, nevertheless, they took no trouble to cultivate. 'According to my scheme,' he says, 'all the country would be made productive, and no part of it would remain barren and unprofitable, if every one had equal right to till the soil wherever he chose; and by this result both the public and the individual would benefit.' The condition of tenure was that the occupier should do his duty by the land; subject to this, he might settle where he would, without prejudice arising from the claims of previous owners: but if he in his turn neglected it, the property would revert to the state, and another would have the right of occupying it.¹

This entire plan seems to imply that there was a considerable amount of unappropriated land in the country, in which case so radical a change, even supposing it to have been practicable, would have been unnecessary: but in Plethon's mind it was closely connected with his scheme of taxation, and with the disposal of the revenues derived from the soil. He proposed to divide the annual proceeds of each property into three equal

¹ Add. I. 18, 19; II. 13.

parts. One of these was to be paid to the state in the form of taxes, and was to be applied to the purposes of government; that is, to the maintenance of the ruling class, or that element in the state which provides for the security of the rest. Another third was to be paid over to the capitalist, who provided the farm stock, whether it was the implements of husbandry for the grower of corn and the vine-dresser, or the cattle for the grazier and shepherd. The remaining portion belonged to the occupier. If, however, he himself provided the capital, then he received two-thirds; if the capital was advanced by the state, and not by private hands, then the state received a second portion, in addition to what was paid as taxes. In any case, before the division was made, the seed-corn for the coming year, and the cattle required for breeding, were to be deducted.¹

In the matter of exports and imports, Plethon was a protectionist; but he regards the question rather from the point of view of the consumer than from that of the producer. His main object is to enable the country to provide for its own wants, and to be independent of supplies from abroad. With this view he would lay a tax on the importation of such articles as are not serviceable to the people at large, while those that are generally useful should be admitted free of duty. Similarly, the exportation of serviceable things should be checked by the imposition of duties, so that either the home consumer on the one hand, or the exchequer on the other, might be benefited. He lays great stress on the self-sufficing character of the Peloponnese, a feature which has been noticed also as characteristic of that peninsula in ancient times, and arose from the great variety of elevation in different districts, which caused a corresponding variety of products. 'Iron and arms,' he says, 'are the only necessities which the country does not furnish, and these can be obtained from abroad in exchange for cotton.' The last-named article is one which we also hear of as being grown in the Peloponnese in antiquity.² On the same principle he strongly recommends the use of native materials for garments. Why should they employ wool brought from the Atlantic, and converted into garments on the other side of the Ionian Sea, and neglect the wool, flax, hemp, and cotton, which were produced at home? He also impresses on his countrymen generally, but

¹ Add. I. 12; II. 13.

² Pausan. V. 5, § 2.

especially on the upper classes and the court, the need of retrenchment in respect of luxuries, that they might have more money to spare for the defence of the country.¹

In addition to these leading features of Plethon's scheme, two subjects of less importance remain to be noticed, in respect of which he desired to introduce reform—the currency, and the punishments inflicted on criminals. As regards the former, it would seem that the Byzantine currency in the Peloponnese had been so neglected, that the people generally were obliged to avail themselves of debased coins of Frankish origin. The evil arising from this, he believes, would be in great measure remedied by the adoption of exchange in kind throughout the country, a system for which the Peloponnese, owing to its self-sufficing character already noticed, was peculiarly fitted; but whatever money was required for the purposes of daily life should be good of its kind, and not foreign.² In the matter of punishment, he remarks that sentences of death had ceased to be carried out; and, as a matter of fact, there was at this time, and there still exists among the Greeks, a strong aversion to executions, even of the worst criminals.³ Thus it came to pass that many malefactors escaped altogether, and those who were punished were subjected to mutilation of the extremities, a practice, which had become traditional in the Eastern empire, but which Plethon deprecates, as producing objects offensive to the eye, and being contrary to Hellenic ideas. In place of both of these punishments he advocates the employment of criminals on public works, such as repairing the wall across the Isthmus, by which means the soldiery would be relieved from laborious tasks, and the burdens of the community would be lightened.⁴ It is clear, however, that Plethon had himself no objection to the punishment of death, for in his code it is prescribed for a large number of crimes,⁵ and in the second of his two Addresses he urges that it should be put in force in the case of incorrigible malefactors. The form of capital punishment which he advocates is that by burning.

It is not difficult to see that many points in this plan of

¹ Add. I. cc. 22, 23; II. c. 14.

² Add. I. c. 21; II. c. 14.

³ A ghastly description of a provincial execution in modern times will

be found in Belle, *Voyage en Grèce*, pp. 357, 358.

⁴ Add. I. c. 20; II. c. 14.

⁵ *Traité des Lois*, pp. 124 foll.

reform were suggested in the first instance by the study of Plato.¹ Plethon's governing class, whom in one place he speaks of as the *κοινοὶ φύλακες*,² at once recall the 'Guardians' of Plato's *Republic*. His regulations with regard to exports and imports correspond almost exactly to those of that philosopher, who ordained that objects of luxury, which are not produced in the country itself, should not be imported, where there is no necessity for them, and that nothing which is indispensable for the country should be exported; but he allowed the same exception to this rule as Plethon does, viz., that arms, and materials which may be of service for the defence of the country, are to be imported, when those in authority find it desirable.³ Plato, also, desired to impose restraints in the matter of luxury on his Guardians,⁴ in the same spirit in which Plethon impresses the need of frugality on the leading men of his time. The separation of classes in respect of their employments, which Plethon insists upon, is equally prominent in Plato's scheme, for he required that husbandmen and artificers should form distinct classes of the population, and that the artificers should not exercise more than one occupation.⁵ Again when Plethon deals with more speculative matters, he borrows still more directly from his master; e.g. where he discusses the various forms of political constitutions, and determines that the best form of government is monarchy, when the ruler is bound to act in accordance with just laws.⁶ So too when Plethon mentions the three essential points in religious belief, which both states and individuals ought firmly to maintain, he puts in a positive form those tenets, the negation of which Plato speaks of as being erroneous, viz., the belief (1) that God exists; (2) that He takes thought for men; (3) that His judgment is incapable of being influenced by gifts and offerings.⁷ At the same time the mediaeval Platonist was no servile follower of his intellectual guide. Occasionally he adopts views more or less different from those of his predecessor, and where he avails himself of his ideas, he usually modifies

¹ The correspondences with Plato have been carefully collected and criticised by Ellissen in his edition.

² Add. I. c. 15.

³ *Laws*, viii. p. 847.

⁴ *Rep.* iii. p. 416.

⁵ *Rep.* ii. pp. 369, 370; *Laws*, viii. p. 846.

⁶ *Politicus*, p. 302.

⁷ Add. II. c. 15; Plato, *Laws*, x p. 885.

them so as to meet, according to his own notions, the wants of his age and country.

In estimating the general character of these proposals, it is fair to remember that they were suggested as a remedy for a state of things which was almost desperate. Their author admits that they are subversive of deeply rooted habits and modes of life, and expects that they will be unpopular with certain classes, but he entertains no hope of success from anything less than a radical change.¹ This consideration may lead us to hesitate before acquiescing in the severe judgment which has been passed upon them by some writers, for instance by the practical Finlay, who says that Plethon would have rendered society even more barbarous than he found it.² Possibly this might have been the case, and yet in great political crises even stranger changes have served to renovate society, if there is forthcoming a sufficiently vigorous material to work upon. That Plethon did not regard them as merely speculative suggestions, is shown by his offering to carry them out himself, if no other administrator should be found ready to do so;³ and the enthusiastic and uncompromising character which is attributed to him, and which appears in his writings, makes it probable that he believed he was capable of remedying the existing evils. But to us who look back upon his ideas in the light of subsequent history, two causes are plainly visible which must have rendered them futile in their operation. In the first place, they came too late; the empire of Constantinople was doomed to fall within a limited period, and proposals such as his, which aimed at the regeneration of the national character, could only produce an effect after the lapse of a considerable space of time. And besides this, there did not exist either adequate power in the government to enforce them, or sufficient vitality or moral force in the people at large to be invigorated by them. He regarded the restoration of prosperity as depending on the will of the Despot Theodore II.,⁴ and he was a man of no vigour, and the archonts of the Morea had already shown to what an extent they were ready to defy him. As to the inhabitants of the country, they were what we have already seen. We may admire Plethon for his determination, in spite

¹ Add. I. c. 10; II. cc. 22, 27.

³ Add. I. c. 25.

² *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 241.

⁴ Add. II. c. 21.

of all discouragements, not to despair of the state. But his scheme, like that of Saint-Simon in our own century, which in several points it resembles, must be reckoned among those which could not have taken a practical form.

There only remains the melancholy task of narrating the sequel of the story. Of Plethon's proposals, as might be expected, no notice was taken; but the efforts of the emperor Manuel to improve the administration of the Peloponnese had some effect for the time, and at last the whole of the territory which remained in the hands of the Franks of the Principality of Achaia was won from them by the Greeks. In 1423, however, Manuel became involved in hostilities with the Turks, and an Ottoman army under the general Turakhan broke through the wall across the Isthmus, and overran and plundered the country. Three years later Manuel died, and was succeeded as emperor by his son John VI., and he, in the year 1427, divided the Peloponnese between his three brothers, Theodore, the existing Despot, Constantine, and Thomas. This partition put an end to any hopes of reform, and the courts of these three princes became the centres of intrigues, which ultimately resulted in civil war between them. After the retirement of Theodore into a monastery, somewhat greater vigour was for a time introduced into the government; but in 1446, when Amurath II. invaded the Morea in person, the wall was again stormed, notwithstanding the imposing force by which it was defended, and the northern and central districts of the Peloponnese were ravaged. Throughout this period the only part of the population that offered a determined resistance were the Albanians, and they became alienated from the Greeks owing to a rebellion, by which they endeavoured to obtain their independence. In order to reduce them the two Despots, Thomas and Demetrius (the latter had entered on his office when Constantine became emperor of Constantinople by the death of his brother John VI.), solicited and obtained aid from the Sultan—a proceeding which proved how little patriotism remained in the hearts of the rulers. When Constantinople fell in 1453, it was clear that the reduction of this province was only a question of time; indeed the systematic abduction of the inhabitants which was practised by the Turks in their inroads—sixty thousand persons are said to have been carried off at one

time and sold as slaves—had already almost consummated the ruin of the country. In 1458 Mahomet II., the great destroyer, invaded the Peloponnese, but was contented with rendering it tributary. Two years later, the rebellion of one of the Despots once more summoned him to the spot, and the province was incorporated in the Ottoman empire. All that remained in Christian hands was the fortresses possessed by Venice, and the last of these was ceded to Suleiman the Magnificent after the lapse of eighty years.

H. F. TOZER.

THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

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HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME VII

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* Pl. *A* is unlettered (p. 114) ; Pl. *B* is omitted.

RULES

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of

the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer, the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

6. No money shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer or dealt with otherwise than by an order of Council, and a cheque signed by two members of Council and countersigned by a Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed : no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of

the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

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 *Brunton, T. Lauder, M.D., F.R.S., 50, *Welbeck Street, W.*
 *Bryce, James, D.C.L., M.P., 35, *Bryanston Square, W.*
 Burkitt, F. C., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 *Burn, Rev. Robert, *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Bury, J. B., *Trinity College, Dublin.*
 Butcher, Prof. S. H. (Council), *The University, Edinburgh.*
 *Butler, The Rev. H. M., D.D. (V.P.), *Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Butler, Arthur J., *Wood End, Weybridge.*
 Butler, Rev. Canon George, *Winchester.*
 Buxton, F. W., 42, *Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.*
 Bywater, Ingram (Council), 93, *Onslow Square, S.W.*
 †Bywater, Mrs., 93, *Onslow Square, S.W.*
 Calvert, Rev. Thomas, 15, *Albany Villas, Hove, Brighton.*
 †Calvocorrsi, L. M.
 *Campbell, Rev. Prof. Lewis (Council), *St. Andrew's, N.B.*
 Champion, Rev. W. J. H., *Keble College, Oxford.*
 Cannon, Miss F. A., 82, *Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, W.*
 Canterbury, The Most Rev. His Grace the Lord Archbishop of, *Lambeth Palace, S.E.*
 Capes, Rev. W. W. (Council), *Hertford College, Oxford.*
 Carápanos, Constantin, *Deputé, Athens.*
 *Carlisle, A. D., *Haileybury College, Hertfordshire.*
 †Carr, Rev. A., *Wellington College, Wokingham.*
 Cates, Arthur, 12, *York Terrace, Regent's Park.*
 Cave, Lawrence T., 13, *Lowndes Square, S.W.*
 Chambers, C. Gore, *The Grammar School, Bedford.*
 Chambers, F. C., *Rodmil, Shortlands, Kent.*
 Chambers, C. E., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Chavasse, A. S., *University College, Oxford.*
 †Chawner, G., *King's College, Cambridge.*
 †Chawner, W., *Emmanuel College, Cambridge.*
 †Chester, The Right Rev. the Bishop of, *Chester.*
 Chettle, H., *Stationers' School, Bolt Court, E.C.*
 *Christie, R. C., *Glenwood, Virginia Water, Staines.*
 Christian, Rev. G., *Redgate, Uppingham.*
 *Church, Very Rev. R. W., D.C.L. (V.P.), *The Deanery, St. Paul's, E.C.*

- Clark, P. E., 2, *Culverden Park, Tunbridge Wells*.
 Clark, W. Gilchrist, *King's College, Cambridge*.
 Clarke, Henry, 14, *Ladbroke Grove, W*.
 †Clarke, Hyde, 32, *St. George's Square, S.W*.
 Clarke, Rev. R. L., *Queen's College, Oxford*.
 Clay, C. F., *West House, Cambridge*.
 Clinton, E. Fynes, *Grammar School, Wimborne, Dorset*.
 Cobbold, Felix T., *Holywells, Ipswich*.
 *Cobham, C. Delaval, *H.B.M. Commissioner, Larnaca, Cyprus*.
 Cohen, Mrs., 30, *Hyde Park Gardens, W*.
 Colby, Rev. Dr., *Litton Cheney, Dorsetshire*.
 Cole, A. C., 64, *Portland Place, W*.
 *Colvin, Sidney (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C*.
 Comyn, John S., M.D., 32, *Dawson Place, Bayswater, W*.
 *Constantinides, Prof. M., 6, *Leamington Villas, Acton, W*.
 †Contostavlos, Otho, *Abonnés Case, 642, Marseilles*.
 Conway, W. M., *Savile Club, 107, Piccadilly, W*.
 Conybeare, C. A. V., M.P., 40, *Chancery Lane, W.C*.
 Cookson, C., *St. Paul's School, Kensington, W*.
 Cookson, C. A., H. B. M. Consul, *Alexandria*.
 Coolidge, Rev. W. A. B., *Magdalen College, Oxford*.
 Corgialeagno, M., 21, *Pembridge Gardens, W*.
 Corrie, E. K., 19, *Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C*.
 Courtney, W. L., *New College, Oxford*.
 Courtenay, Miss, 34, *Brompton Square, S.W*.
 Cowper, The Right Hon. Earl, K.G., *Panshanger, Hertford*.
 Craginsh, The Baroness, *Albemarle Club, Albemarle St., W*.
 Craik, George Lillie, 29, *Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C*.
 Creighton, Rev. Prof. M., *Langdale Lodge, The Avenue, Cambridge*.
 Crossley, Prof. Hastings, *Queen's College, Belfast*.
 Cruikshank, Rev. J. A., *Harrow, N.W*.
 Curtis, Rev. Canon, *Constantinople*.
 Cust, H. J. C., *Ellesmere, Salop*.
 Cust, Lionel, 13, *Eccleston Square, S.W*.
 Dakyns, H. G., *Clifton College, Bristol*.
 Dale, A. W. W., *Trinity Hall, Cambridge*.
 Davidson, H. O. D., *Harrow, N.W*.
 Davies, Rev. Gerald S., *Charterhouse, Godalming*.
 Davies, Rev. J. Ll., 5, *Blandford Square, N.W*.
 Dawes, Rev. J. S., D.D., *Surbiton, S.W*.
 Deibel, Dr., *care of Messrs. Asher, Berlin*.
 *Dilke, The Right Hon. Sir Charles W., Bart., 76, *Sloane St., S.W*.
 Dill, S., *Grammar School, Manchester*.
 Dillon, Edward, 13, *Upper Phillimore Gardens, W*.
 Dimsdale, M. S., *King's College, Cambridge*.
 Dix, C. M., *Oratory School, Edgbaston, Birmingham*.
 Dixon, Miss Kate, *Stoke Lodge, 41, Hyde Park Gate, W*.

- Donaldson, Rev. S. A., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Donaldson, James, LL.D., *Principal of The University, St. Andrews.*
 Donkin, E. H., *The School, Sherborne, Dorset.*
 Drake, Mrs., *Devon House, Forest Hill, S.E.*
 Drisler, Prof. Henry, *Columbia College, New York, U.S.A.*
 Duchâtaux, M. V., 12, *Rue de l'Echauderie, à Reims.*
 Duhn, Prof. von, *University, Heidelberg.*
 Duke, Roger, *Post-Master General, Malta.*
 *†Durham, Rt. Rev. the Bishop of (President), *Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland.*
 Edmonds, Mrs., *Carisbrook, Blackheath, S.E.*
 Edwards, Miss Amelia B., *The Larches, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.*
 Edwards, G. M., *Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.*
 Eld, Rev. F. J., *The Grammar School, Worcester.*
 Ellis, Robinson, *Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Eliot, C. N. E., *British Embassy, St. Petersburg.*
 Elton, Charles, Q.C., M.P. (Council), 10, *Cranley Place, Onslow Square, S.W.*
 Ely, Talfourd.
 †Escott, Rev. W. W. S., *King Henry's School, Coventry.*
 Eumorphopoulo, A., 1, *Kensington Park Gardens, W.*
 Evans, A. J. (Council), 32, *Broad Street, Oxford.*
 Evans, John, D.C.L., F.R.S., *Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.*
 Eve, H. W., 37, *Gordon Square, W.C.*
 Everard, C. H., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Farnell, L. R. (Council), *Exeter College, Oxford.*
 Farrer, Rev. Canon A. S., *Durham.*
 Faulkner, C. J., *University College, Oxford.*
 *Fearon, Rev. W. A., D.D., *The College, Winchester.*
 Feetham, T. O., 23, *Arundel Gardens, Kensington Park, W.*
 Fenning, W. D., *Haileybury College, Hertford.*
 Fitz-Patrick, Dr. T., 30, *Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.*
 Flather, J. H., *Cavendish College, Cambridge.*
 Flower, Wickham, *Swan House, Chelsea, S.W.*
 †Forbes, W. H., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Ford, Sir Francis Clare, K.C.M.G., *H.B.M. Minister, Madria.*
 Foster, Prof. Michael, M.D., Sec. R.S., *Shelford, Cambridge.*
 *Fowler, Rev. Professor, *President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
 *Fowler, Sir Robert, Bart., M.P., 50, *Cornhill, E.C.*
 Fowler, W. W., *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
 Fox, Ernest Long, 18, *Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.*
 †Franks, A. W., F.R.S., *British Museum, W.C.*
 Frazer, J. G., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Freeman, C. E., *Parkhouse, Southborough, Tunbridge Wells.*

- *Freeman, Edward A., D.C.L. (Council), *Somerleaze, Wells, Somerset.*
- *Freshfield, Douglas W., 1, *Airlie Gardens, Campden Hill, W.*
- †Freshfield, Edwin, 5, *Bank Buildings, E.C.*
- *Fry, F. J., *Eversley, Leigh Wood, Clifton.*
Furneaux, Rev. W. M., *Repton Hall, Burton-on-Trent.*
Fyffe, C. A., 64, *Lexham Gardens, South Kensington.*
- †Gardner, E. A. (Council), 13, *Oak Hill, Hampstead, N.W.*
- *†Gardner, Prof. Percy, Litt.D. (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*
Gardner, Miss Alice, *Newnham College, Cambridge.*
Geddes, W. D. (V.P.), *Principal of the University, Aberdeen.*
Gibson, Mrs. J. Y., *Swaynethorpe, Upper Long Ditton, Kingston-on-Thames.*
Gilkes, A. H., *The College, Dulwich, S.E.*
Gilliat, Rev. E., *Harrow, N.W.*
Glazebrook, M. G., *Harrow, N.W.*
Goodhart, H. C., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
Goodrick, Rev. A. T. S., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
Goodwin, Prof. A., *University College, Gower Street, W.C.*
Goodwin, Prof. W. W., *Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A.*
- †Gordon, R. G., *King's School, Canterbury.*
Gore, Rev. C., *Pusey House, 61, St. Giles, Oxford.*
Gould, Theodore W., 8, *Orrisdale Terrace, Cheltenham.*
Gow, James, Litt.D. (Council), *High School, Nottingham.*
Gray, Rev. H. B., *Bradfield College, Berks.*
Greenwell, Rev. Canon, F.R.S., *Durham.*
Greenwood, J. G., *Principal of Owens College, Manchester.*
Gregory, Right Hon. Sir William H., K.C.M.G., *Coole Park, Co. Galway, and 3, St. George's Place, S.W.*
Gregory, Rev. T. H., *Padbury Vicarage, Buckingham.*
Griffith, G., *Harrow, N.W.*
Grundy, Rev. W., *The College, Malvern.*
Guillemard, W. G., *Harrow, N.W.*
Gurney, John, *Sprowston Hall, Norwich.*
Gwatkin, Rev. T., 74, *Regent Street, Cambridge.*
Hager, Herman, Ph.D., *Owens College, Manchester.*
Hall, Rev. F. H., *Oriel College, Oxford.*
Hall, Rev. F. J., *Wyndley House, Stevenage, Herts.*
Hall, W. H., *Six Mile Bottom, Cambs.*
Hallam, G. H., *Byron House, Harrow, N.W.*
Hamerton, P. G., *Pré Charmoy, Autun, Saône-et-Loire, France.*
Hammond, W. A., *King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.*
Hancock, Mrs. Charles, 125, *Queens' Gate, S.W.*
Hardie, W. Ross, *Balliol College, Oxford.*
Hardwicke, Philip, 2, *Hereford Gardens, W.*
- *Harrison, Charles, 5, *Upper Berkeley Street, Portman Sq., W.*
- †Harrison, Miss J. E., 45 (D), *Colville Gardens, W.*

- Harrison, Mrs. Robert, 73, *Cromwell Road, S.W.*
 Harrower, Prof. John, *The University, Aberdeen.*
 Hartshorne, B. F., 41, *Elm Park Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.*
 Haslam, S., *The School, Uppingham.*
 Hatch, Rev. E., *Vice-Principal, St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.*
 Haussoullier, M., 37, *Rue Kaneau, Paris.*
 †Haverfield, F. J., *Lancing College, Shoreham.*
 Hawes, Miss E. P., 89, *Oxford Terrace, W.*
 †Hay, C. A., 127, *Harley Street, W.*
 †Haynes, Miss Lucy.
 Hazzopulo, S., *Bella Vista, Manchester.*
 Heard, Rev. W. A., 2, *Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.*
 †Heathcote, W. E., 114, *Ebury Street, S.W.*
 Heberden, C. B., *Brasenose College, Oxford.*
 Hedgcock, Mrs. Harrison, 21, *Caversham Road, N.W.*
 Herschell, The Rt. Hon. Lord, 46, *Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.*
 Hervey, H., 12, *Lowndes Street, W.*
 Heydemann, Dr. Heinrich, *The University, Halle.*
 Hicks, John Power, *Clifton Lodge, Blomfield Road, Maida Hill, W.*
 Hicks, Rev. E. L., *Hulme College, Manchester.*
 Hirschfeld, Prof. Gustave, Ph.D. *Königsberg, Germany.*
 Hobhouse, Walter, *Hertford College, Oxford.*
 Hodgson, F. C., *Education Department, Whitehall.*
 Holden, Rev. Henry, D.D., *South Luffenham Rect., Stamford.*
 Holden, Rev. H. A., LL.D. (Council), 20, *Redcliffe Square, S.W.*
 Holiday, Henry, *Oak Tree House, Branch Hill, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Holland, Miss Lilian, 56, *Porchester Terrace, W.*
 Hollway-Calthrop, H. C., *Stanhoe Hall, King's Lynn.*
 Homolle, M., *Nancy, France.*
 Hope, Rt. Hon. A. J. Beresford, M.P., 1, *Connaught Place, W.*
 Hopkins, Prof. Gerard M., S.J., *University College, Dublin.*
 Hornby, Rev. J. J., D.D., *Provost of Eton College, Windsor.*
 Hort, Rev. Prof., D.D. (Council), *St. Peter's Terrace, Cambridge.*
 Howorth, Henry H., M.P., *Derby House, Eccles, Manchester.*
 Hügel, Baron Friedrich von, 4, *Holford Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Hughes, Rev. W. Hawker, *Jesus College, Oxford.*
 Hunt, William, *Pen Villa, Yeovil.*
 Inge, W. R., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Ingram, J. K., LL.D. (V.P.), *Trinity College, Dublin.*
 †Tonides, Alex. A., 1, *Holland Park, W.*
 Ionides, Luke A., 17, *Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.*
 Jackson, Henry, Litt.D. (Council), *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Jackson, Rev. Blomfield, *King's College School, Strand.*
 Jackson, Rev. W. W., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
 Jackson, T. G., 11, *Nottingham Place, Marylebone, W.*
 *James, Rev. H. A.

- James, Rev. S. R., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Jassonidy, O. J., *Nicosia, Cyprus.*
 Jeans, Rev. G. E., *Haileybury College, Hertford.*
 *Jebb, Prof. R. C., LL.D., Litt.D. (V.P.), *University, Glasgow.*
 Jenkinson, F. J. H., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Jenner, Charles, *Easter Duddingston Lodge, Portobello, Mid-Lothian.*
 Jenner, Louis Leopold C. A., *Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Jenner, Miss Lucy A., 63, *Brook Street, W.*
 Jevons, F. B., *The Castle, Durham.*
 Jex-Blake, Miss, *Girton College, Cambridge.*
 Johnson, Thomas M., *Osceola, Mo., U.S.A.*
 Johnstone, P. D., *Osborne House, Bolton Gardens South, S.W.*
 Jones, E. Burne, A.R.A., *The Grange, North-end Road, Fulham.*
 Joynt, J. W., *Trinity College, Dublin.*
 Keep, R. P., Ph.D., *Free Academy, Norwich, Conn., U.S.A.*
 Keltie, J. S., 52, *Cromwell Avenue, Highgate, N.*
 Kennedy, Rev. Prof. B. W., D.D., *The Elms, Cambridge.*
 Ker, W. P., 203, *Newport Road, Cardiff.*
 Kieffer, Prof. John B., 230, *Lancaster Avenue, Lancaster Pa., U.S.A.*
 King, Rev. J. R., *St. Peter's Vicarage, Oxford.*
 Kitchin, The Very Rev. G. W., D.D., *The Deanery, Winchester.*
 Lacaita, Sir James, K.C.M.G., 27, *Duke Street, St. James', S.W.*
 Lamb, J. G., 17, *Wellesley Road, Great Yarmouth.*
 Lambros, Spiridion, *Athens.*
 Lane-Poole, Mrs. Stanley, 6, *Park Villas East, Richmond, S.W.*
 *Lang, R. Hamilton, *Ottoman Bank, 26, Throgmorton St., E.C.*
 Lang, Andrew (Council), 1, *Marloes Road, Kensington, W.*
 Layard, Sir Henry, K.C.B., 1, *Queen Anne's Street, W.*
 Leaf, Herbert, *Pains Hill, Cobham, Surrey.*
 †Leaf, Walter (Council), *Old Change, E.C.*
 Leeper, Alexander, *Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne, Australia.*
 Leigh, W. Austen, *King's College, Cambridge*
 Leighton, Sir Frederick, Bart., P.R.A., *Holland Park Road, W.*
 †Lewis, Prof. T. Hayter, 12, *Kensington Gardens Square, W.*
 *†Lewis, Rev. S. S., *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*
 *Leycester, Rafe, 6, *Cheyne Walk, S.W., or Toft, Cheshire.*
 *Liddell, Very Rev. H. G., D.D., *Dean of Christchurch, Oxford.*
 Liddon, Rev. Canon, *Christchurch, Oxford.*
 Lindley, Miss Julia, 10, *Kidbrook Terrace, Shooter's Hill Road, S.E.*
 Lindley, William, 10, *Kidbrook Ter., Shooter's Hill Rd., S.E.*
 Lingen, The Rt. Hon. Lord, K.C.B. 6, *Westbourne Crescent, W.*
 Litchfield, R. B., 31, *Kensington Square, W.*
 Livingstone, Rev. R. G., *Pembroke College, Oxford.*
 Lloyd, Miss A. M., *Caythorpe Hall, Grantham.*

- Lloyd-Roberts, H., 1, *Pump Court, Temple.*
- †Lock, Rev. W., *Keble College, Oxford.*
- Lowell, J. Russell.
- *Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P. (Treasurer), *High Elms, Hayes, Kent.*
- Ludlow, T. W., *Cottage Lawn, Yonkers, New York.*
- Lumley, His Excellency Sir John Saville, H.B.M. Ambassador, *Rome.*
- Lushington, E. L., *Park House, Maidstone, Kent.*
- Luxmoore, H. E., *Eton College, Windsor.*
- Lyttelton, Hon. and Rev. E., *Eton College, Windsor.*
- Lytton, The Right Hon. the Earl of, *Knebworth, Stevenage, Herts.*
- *Macan, R. W., *University College, Oxford.*
- Mackail, J. W., 2, *Mandeville Place, W.*
- Macmillan, Alexander, 29, *Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.*
- *Macmillan, George A. (Hon. Sec.), 29, *Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.*
- Macmillan, Mrs. George A., 19, *Earls' Terrace, Kensington, W.*
- Macmillan, M. C., 29, *Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.*
- Macnaghten, The Rt. Hon. Lord, 3, *New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*
- Magrath, Rev. J. R., *Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.*
- Maguire, Prof., *Trinity College, Dublin.*
- *Mahaffy, Rev. Prof. J. P., *Trinity College, Dublin.*
- Maine, Sir Henry, K.C.S.I., 27, *Cornwall Gardens, S.W., and Trinity Hall Lodge, Cambridge.*
- Mann, J. S., *Trinity College, Oxford.*
- †Marindin, G. E., *Eton College, Windsor.*
- Margoliouth, D. S., *New College, Oxford.*
- Marklove, M. W. C., 1, *Little Dean's Yard, S.W.*
- †Marquand, Prof. Allan, *Princeton College, New Jersey.*
- Marshall, R., *Broomfield, Duppas Hill, Croydon.*
- Marshall, T., *Highfield, Chapel Allerton, Leeds.*
- *†Martin, John B., 17, *Hyde Park Gate, S.W.*
- †Martyn, Edward, *Tillyra Castle, Ardahan, County Galway.*
- Mason, H. C. F., *Haileybury College, Hertford.*
- Mavrogordato, Pandeli, *South Sea House, Threadneedle St., E.C.*
- McEwen, Rev. Alex. Robertson, 4, *Woodside Place, Glasgow.*
- McGregor, Sir Charles R., Bart., 3, *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
- McPherson, Miss Florence, *The Lodge, Blundeil Sands, Liverpool.*
- Merriam, Prof. A. C., *Columbia College, New York.*
- *Middlemore, S. G. C., *Edgbaston, Birmingham.*
- *Middleton, Prof. J. H. (Council), *King's College, Cambridge.*
- Miller, Alex., Q.C., LL.D., *Clonard, Stanmore.*
- Miller, Thomas, 8, *Geismar Chaussée, Göttingen, Germany.*
- Mills, Rev. W. H., *Grammar School, Louth.*
- Milner, Alfred, 35, *Duke Street, St. James' Square, S.W.*
- Minchin, James Innes, 8, *Westbourne Park, W.*

- †Misto, John P., *Smyrna*.
- *Monk, C. J., 5, *Buckingham Gate, S.W.*
- *Monro, D. B. (V.P.), *Provost of Oriel College, Oxford*.
- *Moraitis, Prof. D.
- Morgenthau, J. C., Ph.D., 243, *Broadway, New York*.
- *Morison, James Cotter, *Clairvaux, Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead*.
- Morice, Rev. F. D., *The School, Rugby*.
- *Morley, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of (V.P.), 31, *Princes' Gardens, S.W.*
- Morris, J. E., *The Grammar School, Bedford*.
- Morshead, E. D. A., *The College, Winchester*.
- Moss, Rev. H. W., *The School, Shrewsbury*.
- Moule, C. W., *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*.
- Moulton, Rev. W. F., D.D., *The Leys, Cambridge*.
- Mudie, C. E., *The Limes, Muswell Hill, N.*
- Murray, A. S. (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*
- Murray, G. S. D., 6, *Camden Hill Road, W.*
- *†Myers, Ernest (Council), 31, *Inverness Terrace, W.*
- Myriantheus, The Archimandrite H., 104, *Inverness Ter., W.*
- Nall, C. H., 18, *Dean's Yard, S.W.*
- Nance, Rev. J. T., *St. John's College, Oxford*.
- Neil, R. A., *Pembroke College, Cambridge*.
- Nettleship, R. L., *Balliol College, Oxford*.
- Newman, W. L., *Pittville Lawn, Cheltenham*.
- *Newton, Prof. C. T., C.B. (V.P.), 2, *Montague Place, W.C.*
- Nicholson, Sir Charles, *The Grange, Totteridge, Herts*.
- Nicolson, Rev. W., *The Bible Society's Dépôt, St. Petersburg*.
- Northampton, The Most Noble the Marquess of, K.G., 37, *Bury Street, St. James's, W.*
- Ogle, Rev. H. C., *Magdalen College School, Oxford*.
- Ogle, J. W., M.D., 30, *Cavendish Square, W.*
- Page, Hollis B., 102, *Chestnut Street, Boston, U.S.A.*
- Page, T. E., *Charterhouse, Godalming*.
- Paley, Prof. F. A., LL.D., *Apthorp, Boscombe, Bournemouth*.
- Palmer, Ven. Archdeacon, *Christchurch, Oxford*.
- Park, Rev. Mungo T., *Grammar School, Oundle*.
- Parker, R. J., 27, *Brunswick Gardens, Kensington, W.*
- Parry, Rev. R. St. J., *Trinity College, Cambridge*.
- Parsons, Daniel, *Stuart's Lodge, Malvern Wells*.
- Pattengill, Prof. A. H., *Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.*
- Pears, Edward, 2, *Rue de la Banque, Constantinople*.
- Peile, John, Litt.D., *Christ's College, Cambridge*.
- Pelham, H. F. (Council), 20, *Bradmore Road, Oxford*.
- Pember, E. H., Q.C., *Vicar's Hill, near Lymington, Hants*.
- *†Percival, F. W., 36, *Bryanston Street, W.*
- Percival, Rev. J., D.D., *School House, Rugby*.
- Perry, Harold Arthur, 13, *Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*
- Perry, Ottley C., *Bolton-le-Moors*.

- *Perry, Walter C. (Council), 7a, *Manchester Square, W.*
 Phelps, Rev. Lancelot Ridley, *Oriel College, Oxford.*
 Phillpotts, J. Surtees, *School House, Bedford.*
 Pollock, Sir Frederick, Bart., 59, *Montagu Square, W.*
 Pollock, Frederick (Council), 48, *Great Cumberland Place, W.*
 Poole, Reginald Stuart, *British Museum, W.C.*
 Porter, Rev. J. L., D.D., *President of Queen's College, Belfast.*
 Porter, Miss Sarah, *Farmington, Connecticut, U.S.A.*
 †Postgate, Prof. J. P., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Poynter, Edward J., R.A., 28, *Albert Gate, S.W.*
 Preston, Rev. G., *King's School, Chester.*
 *Price, Prof. Bonamy, *Norham Gardens, Oxford.*
 Prickard, A. O., *New College, Oxford.*
 Prideaux, Miss Sarah, *Goldsmiths' Hall, E.C.*
 Prothero, G. W., *King's College, Cambridge.*
 †Pryor, Francis R., *Lancaster Mansion, Savoy, W.C.*
 Psychari, A., *Hotel Bellevue, Dresden.*
 Pullan, R. P., 9, *Melbury Road, Kensington, W.*
 Radcliffe, W. W., *Fonthill Rectory, Tisbury, Salisbury.*
 *Ralli, Pandeli (Council), 17, *Belgrave Square, S.W.*
 †Ralli, Mrs. Stephen A., *Cleveland House, Thornton Road, Clapham Park, S.W.*
 †Ralli, Theodore, 12, *Alles des Capucines, Marseilles.*
 †Ramsay, Prof. W. M. (Council), *The University, Aberdeen.*
 Raven, Miss, *Grove Cottage, Frognal, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Rawlins, F. H., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Rawnsley, W. F., *Parkhill, Lyndhurst, Hants.*
 Raynor, A. G. S., 3, *Little Dean's Yard, S.W.*
 Raynor, Rev. P. E., *Christ's College, Hobart, Tasmania.*
 Read, General Meredith, *care of Messrs. Munro & Co., Paris.*
 Reeve, Henry ; C.B., 62, *Rutland Gate, W.*
 Reid, J. S., Litt.D., *Caius College, Cambridge.*
 †Reinach, Salomon, 31, *Rue de Berlin, Paris.*
 Rendall, Rev. F., 20, *Ladbroke Square, Notting Hill, W.*
 †Rendall, Prof. G. H., *Principal of University College, Liverpool.*
 Renieri, M. Mario, *Athens.*
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LIST OF JOURNALS &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE
FOR THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- The Transactions of the American School, *Athens*.
- The Parnassos Philological Journal, *Athens*.
- The Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).
- The Publications of the Archaeological Society, *Athens*.
- The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Institute at *Athens*.
- The Journal of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, *Athens*.
- Bursian's Jahresbericht für classische Alterthumswissenschaft.
- The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- The Jahrbuch of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, *Berlin*.
- The Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45, rue d'Ulm).
- The Numismatic Chronicle.
- The Publications of the Evangelical School, *Smyrna*.
- The Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.
- The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, *Rome*.
- The Journal of the American Archaeological Institute, *Boston, U.S.A.*
- The Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
- The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, and the Journal of Philology.
- The Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.
- The American Journal of Archaeology (Dr. A. L. Frothingham), 29, Cathedral Street, *Baltimore, U.S.A.*

THE SESSION OF 1885-6.

The First General Meeting was held on *October 22, 1885*, PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN read a paper by Mr. A. S. Murray 'On a Terra-Cotta Diadumenos recently acquired in Smyrna by Mr. W. R. Paton' (*Journal*, Vol. VI. p. 243). The Vaison and Farnese marble copies in the British Museum of the original bronze Diadumenos of Polycleitus were clearly executed at a date when the canon of Lysippus had superseded that of Polycleitus, so that an artist even when copying the latter could hardly shake off the influence of the former. This was especially noticeable in the length of the thigh. It was therefore difficult to form a just idea of the style of Polycleitus. The present terra-cotta, however, seemed to some extent to bridge over the gulf between the extant marble copies and the original works. Its proportions approximated far more nearly to the known canon of Polycleitus, and in the workmanship there was more effort shown to imitate the effect of the bronze. As to date Mr. Murray was inclined to assign the statuette, from certain traces of the influences of Praxiteles, to the short period between that sculptor and Lysippus.

The CHAIRMAN said that in general treatment the figure reminded him of the fragments he had found on the ancient surface of the Mausoleum, fragments remarkable for their beauty of modelling. It was possible that these and the statuette now in question had been models prepared for the use of art students.

MR. GARDNER, in showing photographs of the terra-cotta and the Farnese Diadumenos, pointed out the superiority of the former in point of workmanship, and agreed with Professor Newton that the fineness of execution could hardly be accounted for in a terra-cotta otherwise than by supposing it to have been a sculptor's model.

The HON. SECRETARY read a paper by Professor W. Ridgeway 'On the Land System of Homer' (*Journal*, Vol. VI. p. 319). The writer's object was to prove, by minute examination of words and passages bearing on agriculture, that traces of the primitive common field system were to be found in the *Iliad*, while the *Odyssey* seemed to imply a later system, tending towards the hereditary and separate ownership which in the time of Hesiod had become thoroughly established.

PROFESSOR CAMPBELL, while admitting the great interest of the paper, was inclined to think that it contained some assumptions which would hardly bear examination.

MR. GENNADIUS illustrated and confirmed the Homeric use of certain agricultural customs and phrases from the usage of modern Greece, and maintained that a knowledge of the language and customs of the Greece of to-day was essential to a true understanding of the classical texts.

This contention was supported by PROFESSOR NEWTON, who gave several instances, from his experiences in the Levant, of the survival of Homeric customs; and Mr. Bent bore similar testimony in regard to the Greek islands.

The Second General Meeting was held on *March 11, 1886*, PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, Vice-President, in the Chair.

MR. A. S. MURRAY read a paper on 'Antiquities from the Island of Lipara' (*Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 51). After rapidly sketching the history of the island to Roman times, Mr. Murray showed illustrations of two interesting vases, one of which represented a graceful female figure standing between two grotesque old men, while the other had the design of a head,

probably of a Satyr, drawn in profile on a large scale. Most of the objects found belong to the third and fourth centuries B.C.; but there was a red figure *lecythus* of Sicilian type which could hardly be later than the sixth century, and a series of neolithic implements which bring us in contact with the original inhabitants. Mr. Murray expressed the hope that further excavations might be undertaken in this interesting island.

MR. ARTHUR J. EVANS read a paper on 'Recent Discoveries of Tarentine Terra-cottas' (*Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 1). The author prefaced his account of the terra-cottas by a summary review of the topography and architectural remains of the Hellenic city, upon which an entirely new light has been thrown by the excavations connected with new government works, having for their object the conversion of Taranto into the Toulon of the Central Mediterranean, and by the local researches of Professor Luigi Viola, appointed by the Italian Government to watch the excavations in the interests of archaeology. The discoveries of terra-cottas have been specially important, including three extensive deposits of ex-votos connected respectively with three local sanctuaries, one of Apollo, and the other two of Chthonic divinities, besides a highly interesting series from the tombs and others of more general *provenance*. Of these various classes the author had acquired a considerable series during repeated visits to the spot, the whole of which will now be deposited in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, of which he is keeper. Amongst those more particularly described were a collection of votive pieces (from a sanctuary which the author showed to have been dedicated to Persephonê-Gaia Iacchus and the Chthonic Dionysus) displaying a remarkable analogy with sepulchral subjects; and another collection from a *temenos* consecrated to Persephonê, including, besides almost life-size heads and smaller reliefs of the goddess in the most perfect style of art, a series of figures from a recently discovered archaic stratum of limited extent, which are well-nigh purely Egyptian in their features. They were found associated with scarabs, and in the course of the paper the suggestion was

offered that some of these may have been imported from Naucratis. Amongst other classes of Tarentine terra-cottas described, specimens of which were exhibited, were moulds for sacred cakes, covered with a variety of symbols, some undescribed varieties of antefixes, perforated discs with inscriptions, &c., and a small collection of terra-cotta impressions of gems and signets. Among the objects from the tombs were parts of friezes and sepulchral slabs presenting reliefs; a model of a boat, with bands of colour on the sides and an eye painted on either side of the prow; a beautiful torso of Aphroditê stooping to fasten her sandal; and two little masterpieces of the Koroplastic art, an Eros playing at ball, and a negro slave boy asleep under an amphora, of striking realism and pathos.

MR. GENNADIUS pointed out that moulds like those exhibited were still used for stamping cakes in Greece at the present day.

PROFESSOR GARDNER said that similar deposits of terra-cottas, mostly in fragments, had been found at Naucratis, and mentioned a suggestion previously made by Mr. R. Anderson that such deposits were due to the periodical clearing out of temples.

The Third General Meeting was held on *May 6, 1886*, PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROFESSOR JEBB read a paper 'On the Homeric House in Relation to the Remains at Tiryns' (*Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 170). The structure of the house at Tiryns, as traced by Dr. Dörpfeld, was shown by a plan. Beside it was placed another, showing the arrangement of the Homeric house as archaeologists have hitherto usually deduced it from the data of the Homeric poems, the sketch given by J. Protodikos (1877) being taken as a basis. It was not Professor Jebb's aim to enter upon the questions of the origin and age of the remains of Tiryns, whether they were Phœnician, of about 1100 B.C., as Dr. Schliemann thinks, or of post-classical date (some archaic materials having been partially used), as some

have thought. The single question discussed was: assuming Dr. Dörpfeld's plan of the house at Tiryns to be correct, can this plan be brought into intelligible agreement with the Homeric poems? The general features common to the house at Tiryns (according to Dr. Dörpfeld) and the Homeric house were first indicated. The essential difference was then pointed out. At Tiryns the *megaron* is altogether isolated from the apartments of the women, which are identified with a similar but smaller hall, parallel with the other at the north-east corner. The only communications between them are by long and circuitous routes, through labyrinths of intricate passages. In the Homeric house, on the contrary, a vital feature is the situation of the women's apartments immediately behind the men's hall, with which they are in direct communication by a door. This was shown by a series of passages, taken chiefly from books xvii. to xx. of the *Odyssey*. The Hellenic house, alike of the Homeric and of the later classical age, was contrived to combine the seclusion of women from the outer world with the social unity of the family. The arrangement at Tiryns was ill-suited to secure either object. The difference was one not merely of detail, but of type. Given a house of the Tiryns type, the *Odyssey* becomes unintelligible.

PROFESSOR BUTCHER thought that the writer had made out his main contention conclusively. The relative position of the men's and the women's apartments in the plan at Tiryns made the story of the *Odyssey* impossible. He also agreed with Professor Jebb that Odysseus shot the suitors from the lower end of the hall, for if it was from the upper end, why did not the suitors escape by the lower door into the *αὐλή*, which was not fastened? Professor Jebb's view as to the *ὀρσοθύρη* being distinct from the *ὁδὸς ἐς λαύρην* (*Od.* xxii. 127) was new, and required consideration. It certainly disposed of some difficulties, but no one reading lines 126 and 127 with an open mind would imagine that more than one door was in question. Similarly as to the meaning of *ῥῶγες μεγάροιο*, Professor Butcher was still inclined to the view of its implying an upper passage or clear-story, and

the modern use of *ρόυγα* might have been derived from such an idea.

PROFESSOR GARDNER, while agreeing as to the necessary connection in the Homeric house between the men's and women's apartments, was not convinced that such an arrangement was shut out by the plan at Tiryns. Was the apparent isolation of the two reasonable on the face of it at any period of history? As only foundations remain, why may there not have been a door (*ὀρσοθύρη*) between the *θάλαμος* and *μέγαρον*, raised above the floor, and therefore no longer to be traced? Admittedly the main divisions of *αὐλή*, *αἴθουσα*, *μέγαρον*, and *θάλαμος* were represented in the plan at Tiryns. So, too, was the site of the altar in the *αὐλή*, and of the hearth in the *μέγαρον*. The conclusions of so competent an archaeologist as Dr. Dörpfeld could not be lightly set aside. Professor Gardner further quoted the opinion of Professor J. H. Middleton that the palace at Tiryns explained the Homeric poems far better than any plan previously given.

In reply to Professor Gardner, PROFESSOR JEBB pointed out that Dr. Dörpfeld does not recognise any *ὀρσοθύρη* at Tiryns, and that if it had existed it would necessarily have been the usual mode of access to the men's hall from the women's, as being so much the easiest. To it, then, we should have to apply the oft-repeated verse as to Penelope 'standing by the door-post of the hall,' which, however, obviously refers to one of the principal entrances, not to a mere postern in a side wall.

The Annual Meeting was held on *June* 24, 1886, PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, Vice-President, in the Chair. The following Report was read by the HON. SEC. on behalf of the Council:—

Although there is no striking event to record in the history of the Society during the past year, there is every reason to feel satisfied with its progress. The *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, by which in the main the Society's work may best be judged, steadily maintains its high position among periodicals of its class. That it is appreciated elsewhere than in England is testified not only by the increasing number of foreign

members and foreign libraries that subscribe for it, but also by the readiness of foreign scholars to contribute to its pages. Thus in the volume for 1885 Prof. Michaelis continues his invaluable record of the 'Ancient Marbles in Great Britain,' and discusses in detail one of the 'Xanthian Marbles in the British Museum'; Dr. Six, the author of an exhaustive treatise on the 'Gorgon in Greek Art,' deals with 'Some Archaic Gorgons in the British Museum'; while Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, in conjunction with Prof. Percy Gardner, publishes the first part of a 'Numismatic Commentary on the Text of Pausanias,' the importance of which to all students of Greek art need not be pointed out. The English contributions in the same volume are fully equal in interest and variety to those which have appeared in previous volumes. Among them may be mentioned a memoir on the 'Tomb of Porsenna at Clusium,' by the late Mr. James Fergusson, whose lamented death has removed one of the foremost authorities on ancient architecture; notes on the 'Islands of Telos and Karpathos,' by Mr. J. T. Bent; a paper on the 'Homeric Land System,' by Prof. W. Ridgeway; on 'Judith and Holofernes,' by Rev. E. L. Hicks; the conclusion of Mr. L. R. Farnell's paper on the 'Pergamene Frieze,' and shorter papers by Messrs. E. A. Gardner, A. S. Murray, C. T. Newton, Cecil Smith, and others.

In last year's Report mention was made of the excavations undertaken on the site of Naucratis, on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, by Mr. Flinders Petrie, who contributed to the *Journal* for 1885 a short summary of his work. During the present spring these excavations have been continued under the able direction of Mr. E. A. Gardner, with very important results, of which an account will appear in due course. The Council felt justified in contributing a further sum of £100 towards the cost of so interesting an undertaking.

The only other matter of this kind which has come under the notice of the Council during the past year was an application from Mr. Bent for aid in the exploration of Samos. The sum of £50 was granted, but the Council regret to say that, owing to unexpected difficulty in obtaining permission to dig in the island, Mr. Bent has not been so successful as he had hoped. He has, however, spent only half the amount.

The grant of £100 for three years, in aid of the proposed British School at Athens, announced in last year's Report, has not yet been called for. But in the interval the house at Athens has been built, and the promoters have good reason to hope that the School may be opened, at any rate on a moderate scale, before very long. The only difficulty lies in raising the sum still needed to ensure an adequate endowment. It has been suggested that some part of this might be obtained in the form of annual subscriptions, and the Council take this opportunity of commending the suggestion to all members of the Hellenic Society. Subscriptions or donations for the School may be sent to the Treasurer Mr. Walter Leaf, Old Change, E.C.

It has long been felt that the Library of the Society, which, though not large, contains some of the chief archaeological journals, would be of more use to members if it were placed in a room which was entirely at the disposal of the Society. The Council are glad to be able to announce that during the past year they have obtained from the Royal Asiatic Society the sole use of the small room at 22, Albemarle Street, in which the books have hitherto been kept. Here members may consult the books on any day between 11 and 5. The Rev. W. Wayte has kindly accepted the office of Hon. Librarian, and Miss Gales has been appointed Assistant Librarian. It is to Miss Gales, at 22, Albemarle Street, that members should address themselves, who wish to borrow any book under the conditions laid down in the Library Rules. It is hoped before long to issue to members a Catalogue of the present contents of the Library, and additions will thereafter be recorded in each yearly volume of the *Journal*. Members are reminded that contributions of books bearing on any branch of Hellenic Study will be gratefully received.

The financial position of the Society is set forth in the accompanying Balance Sheet. The receipts of the year, including the subscriptions of members and of libraries, and the sale of the *Journal* to non-members, amount to £732 15s. 10d. The expenditure, which covers the cost of Vol. VI. of the *Journal*, and includes the above-named grants for excavations at Naucratis and at Samos, amounts to £769 14s. 11d. During the past year more Life-subscriptions to the amount of £220 10s. have been invested in Consols, making a total of £714 so invested. The present balance at the bank is £621 13s. 10d. A further asset is the sum of £95 7s. 9d., advanced more than a year ago towards the cost of photographing the Laurentian MS. of Sophocles. It is hoped that the sale of the remaining copies of the MS. will allow of this sum being repaid by the end of the present year. Lastly, there are arrears of subscriptions amounting to about £160, so that on the whole the financial position of the Society may be regarded as very satisfactory.

Since the last Annual Meeting thirty-eight new members have been elected, and eight libraries have been added to the list of subscribers. Against this increase must be set the loss of nine members by death or resignation, so that the net increase of members and subscribers is 37; the present total of members being 624, and of subscribers 72.

It will be seen from this Report that the Society still steadily advances, and can look back upon another year of efficient work in the promotion of Hellenic Studies. But the Council must not, in conclusion, omit to remind members that constant effort is necessary on the part of all concerned to maintain and improve upon the progress of the past seven years. And the most effective mode of helping forward the cause which all have at heart is to be found in the steady yearly increase of the number of members.

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CASH STATEMENT.

		1885.		1886.		
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1885.	To Balance of last Statement	£ 879 2 11	„ Stationery and Postage Account	„	„ Stationery and Postage Account	
May 30.	„ Dividends on Consols	17 9 10	„ Sundries Printing Account	„	„ Grant to Egypt Exploration Fund	
1886.			Oct. 6.	„ Insurance on Stock at Printers	„	„ Cheque Book
May 30.	„ Members' Subscriptions, 1885-86	539 16 0	Dec. 11.	„ Rent of Rooms to Sept. 1885	„	„ Sundries Printing Account
	„ „ Life Subscription	10 10 0	1886.		„	„ Assistant Secretary, May 1885 to April 30, 1886
	„ „ Subscriptions, 1884	8 8 0	Jan. 6.	„	„	„ Balance of Journal Account
	„ „ „ Arrears	4 4 0	Feb. 25.	„	„	„ „ at Bankers
	„ „ For back Vols. of Journal	25 14 6	May 8.	„	„	
	„ Library Subscriptions, 1885-86	71 8 0		„	„	
	„ „ „ 1884	4 4 0		„	„	
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We have examined this account, and compared it with the vouchers, and find it correct.

JOHN B. MARTIN,
DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, } *Auditors.*

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, *Hon. Sec.*

June 16, 1886.

On a ballot being taken, the following officers were elected for the ensuing session: *President*, Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham; *Vice-Presidents*, Lord Justice Bowen, the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Sidney Colvin, Principal Geddes, Dr. J. K. Ingram, Professor R. C. Jebb, the Provost of Oriel, the Earl of Morley, Professor C. T. Newton, Professor A. H. Sayce, Mr. E. M. Thompson, the Master of Trinity, the Rev. H. F. Tozer, and Professor R. Y. Tyrrell.

The following were elected to fill vacancies on the *Council*: Mr. A. J. Evans, Mr. L. R. Farnell, Mr. E. Gardner, Professor J. H. Middleton, and Mr. A. S. Murray; while Professor P. Gardner, Dr. H. Holden, Dr. Hort, Mr. H. F. Pelham, Mr. W. C. Perry, and Mr. J. R. Thursfield were re-elected.

In the usual address from the chair PROFESSOR NEWTON reviewed the chief archæological discoveries of the past year, mentioning first the remarkable archaic statues found by excavation on the Acropolis at Athens. These were most valuable as links in the development of Greek sculpture, especially as some of the figures bore distinct traces of colour. Photographs of these statues were exhibited by Dr. Waldstein. Of the excavations at Eleusis a full report was not yet forthcoming, but in Boeotia a temple of Apollo had been found, which contained bronzes similar in character to the Apollo of Kanachos. In Crete a grotto had been found which was considered to be identical with the traditional birthplace of Zeus. An inscription found in the island of Lemnos and published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* was particularly interesting because, though in Greek character, it was quite unintelligible. It was suggested that the language might be Pelasgic. The speaker then referred to the intended completion of the German excavations at Pergamon and to the appearance at Berlin of the first instalment of the official report of the previous discoveries there. In Asia Minor, Dr. Sterrett, who was prominent among American workers in the field of classical archæology, had been extraordinarily diligent and successful in collecting inscriptions. He had, moreover, identified the site of Lystra. In this connexion it might

appropriately be mentioned that Professor W. M. Ramsay was now prosecuting further researches in Asia Minor. The Evangelical School at Smyrna had in the past year resumed its important publication of inscriptions. A patriotic Greek gentleman in Constantinople, Mr. Mavrogordato, had given a large sum for the examination and tabulation of MSS. in the monasteries of the Levant. Some remarkable MSS., such as letters of Julian and Libanius, had already been discovered, and were being published, with a complete catalogue, in the *Proceedings* of the 'Ελληνικός Φιλολόγικος Σύλλογος of Constantinople. The papyri found at Fayum, in Egypt, had now been arranged at Vienna, and a provisional report had been published. Among them were a MS. of St. Matthew's Gospel and part of that of St. Mark, which was thought to be the earliest in existence; a very early MS. of the *Gorgias* of Plato; fragments of Hesiod, of the *Argonautica*, and of the *Odyssey*; and many documents belonging to the Alexandrian and Arab epochs, which would require years of study. In conclusion, the Chairman referred to the thoroughness and beauty of illustration which distinguished the archaeological publications of France, Germany, and even of so poor a country as Greece, and expressed the wish that private aid were more readily forthcoming to make such publications possible in England.

MR. E. GARDNER gave a short provisional account of the year's work at Naucratis. The cemetery had been uncovered, but yielded little of importance, as all the graves were considerably later than the period of the real prosperity of Naucratis. The temples of the Dioscuri and of Aphroditê had been cleared, and were interesting as showing the readiness of the Greeks to adapt their architecture to local conditions. These temples were built in the simplest form out of the material of the district, viz., mud-brick. Three temples of Aphroditê, belonging respectively to the Ptolemaic period, the fifth century B.C., and at latest the end of the seventh century B.C., had been found superimposed. The most important find of the year was a thick stratum of miscellaneous fragments of pottery and statuettes on a level

with the floor of the earliest temple of Aphroditè. Some specimens of pottery, of Rhodian character, were shown to the meeting, and it is hoped that many more vases may be pieced together from the innumerable fragments brought home. One kind was conspicuous by its absence, viz., the ordinary black and buff, whether black figured or red figured. The statuettes were strikingly Egyptian in character, though of Greek workmanship. Mr. Gardner considered that these fragments when carefully examined would throw much light upon the early history of Greek pottery, painting, and sculpture. Egyptian influence was particularly noticeable, but the workmanship was still strictly Hellenic, both in spirit and execution.

The HON. SECRETARY read a short paper by Mr. Bent upon his 'Recent Visit to Samos.'

A Special General Meeting was held by permission in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries on *July 2*, 1886, for the purpose of discussing the remains at Tiryns, DR. SCHLIEMANN and DR. DÖRPFELD being present by invitation. DR. J. EVANS, President of the Society of Antiquaries, was in the Chair.

MR. F. C. PENROSE read a short paper based upon notes taken during a recent visit to Tiryns and Mycenæ. After explaining that his visit had been hurried, so that he did not profess to come forward with any detailed statement, Mr. Penrose said that the question he wished to raise was whether the walls uncovered by Dr. Schliemann at Tiryns belong to the same epoch of civilisation as the so-called Treasury of Atreus and the Lion Gate at Mycenæ. Undoubtedly strong arguments in favour of the antiquity of these walls were brought forward in Dr. Schliemann's book, but a careful and unprejudiced examination might show that he had unconsciously overlooked circumstances which tell against his view. Mr. Penrose's main contention was that between the undoubted Pelasgic architecture of Mycenæ

and Tiryns and the so-called Palace of Tiryns the difference in character of work was fundamental. In short, they had nothing in common. Meanly-built walls of quite small stones, worked with the saw and chisel and with a tubular metal drill, seemed to him inconsistent with the Pelasgic period, especially as bricks—fairly burnt red bricks—were not unfrequently introduced. Dr. Schliemann's theory that these burnt bricks were due to a conflagration which destroyed the palace was not borne out by the opinion of a practical brickmaker to whom Mr. Penrose had submitted the point. The true Pelasgic walls had been dressed without metal tools, whereas the numerous cuts seen in the walls of the palace at Tiryns were clearly produced by a metal saw. If this fact be admitted, could a people who used steel or iron for their tools have been content to use only bronze for their weapons? Again, in some of the walls claimed as pre-Homeric stones occurred which were obviously borrowed from older structures, and were yet of regular Hellenic workmanship, as found in classical times. The plan of the building at Tiryns might be that of a Greek house, but Professor Jebb had disputed its analogy with the plan of an Homeric palace. In short, it was hard to conceive that the same men could have built these slovenly walls and such walls as those of the Treasury of Atreus. Without discussing in detail the objects found at Tiryns and Mycenae, Mr. Penrose doubted whether the pre-Homeric character of the treasures and pottery had yet been perfectly established. The decorations at Tiryns, to judge at least from the drawings, had some archaic character about them, but might be bad imitations of earlier work.

DR. SCHLIEMANN, after sketching the history of his work at Tiryns, proceeded to reply in some detail to the objections of Mr. Stillman and others. As this palace was practically the first Greek private house that had been discovered, it was natural that its character should have been disputed, especially by those who had not studied his book *Tiryns* on the spot. Since the excavation the floors and thresholds had been purposely covered over to preserve them from exposure,

and a visitor to Tiryns not provided with Dr. Dörpfeld's plans might easily fail to identify these and other essential details. He might as easily fall into the blunder of mistaking prehistoric for Byzantine building. An instance of such liability to error, on the part of those not fully informed of all the circumstances of the excavation, was that of the boundary walls of the tombs at Mycenae, to which reference had been made by Mr. Penrose. Their conglomerate character, including fragments of true Hellenic building, was fully accounted for by the fact that they were not yet ten years old, having been rebuilt by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1878, from materials lying on the spot, in order to consolidate the terrace of the tombs. These were the walls which Mr. Stillman, Mr. Penrose, and their companions, on the ground of their containing blocks of the classical period, had assumed to belong to, at earliest, the third century B.C., and to be the work of the Celtic barbarians who then overran Greece. There was no evidence whatever that the Celts at that time penetrated beyond Delphi. As to the objection that walls of quarry stone bonded with mortar were unworthy of the heroic age, it was sufficient to point out that such walls, consisting in the lower part of quarry stones and in the upper of sun-dried bricks, had been found in prehistoric buildings in all parts of Greece—at Troy, at Eleusis, in Cephalonia, and in the island of Thera. Dr. Schliemann then alluded to the wall-paintings, which were of the most archaic design, and bore the same patterns as had been found at Orchomenus and elsewhere in buildings certainly 2,000 years older than the foundation of the Byzantine Empire. Similarly the objects of human industry found at Tiryns could only be compared with those of prehistoric character which had been dug up in other parts of the world. In conclusion, Dr. Schliemann expressed the hope that scientific experts might visit the ruins at Tiryns with his book in hand, and test for themselves the accuracy of the statements and plans there given. He and his collaborator, Dr. Dörpfeld, were quite content to leave it to the judgment of such travellers, whether the result of the excavations at Tiryns

deserved to be described, as Mr. Stillman had described it in the *Times*, as 'one of the most extraordinary hallucinations of unscientific enthusiasts which literature of all times can record.' In a letter to the *Times* Dr. Dörpfeld had offered to accompany Mr. Stillman to Tiryns and Mycenae, that he might convince him of his error; but Mr. Stillman had taken no notice of the proposal. Undaunted by the severe criticism which their work had at times met with in England, Drs. Schliemann and Dörpfeld had just planned another archaeological enterprise with pickaxe and spade, and the appreciation of the Hellenic Society would serve as a great spur and encouragement in this new campaign.

MR. NEWTON then read a paper by Dr. Dörpfeld, who began by expressing his readiness to explain any point upon which doubts had been raised in regard to the discoveries at Tiryns. After alluding to Mr. Stillman's letters to the *Times*, in which he had first maintained that the palace at Tiryns was the work of Celtic barbarians in the Macedonian period, and afterwards adopted an alternative theory that the building was Byzantine, Dr. Dörpfeld discussed in detail the question whether the Palace of Tiryns and the tombs at Mycenae really belonged to the heroic age. It had long been erroneously supposed that nearly all buildings of the classical age in Greece were made of rectangular stones, so that walls of a different character, whether of quarry stones bonded with clay mortar or of sun-dried bricks, were held to be Roman or Byzantine, or even barbarian and modern. This supposition was directly traversed by Vitruvius, who expressly described walls of sun-dried brick, and praised them for their lasting qualities, and stated further that not only private houses, but the royal palaces of the Attalides in Tralles, of Croesus at Sardis, and of Mausolus at Halicarnassus, were built of them. Dr. Dörpfeld went on to point out that wherever such walls were found in Greece or Asia Minor the lower parts were composed, as at Tiryns, of irregular stones, either with or without mortar. They were also wainscoted on both sides with clay or lime plaster, which was often covered with painting. Their angles were provided with

regular square-cut stones or with timber beams. The same style of architecture constantly occurred in the most ancient edifices of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and we might well suppose that the Greeks had learnt it from the people of those countries at a very early date. In the face of such facts no one who had really studied the art of building among the Greeks and Romans would maintain that such walls as described were incompatible with the classical or the heroic age. There were four main points for determining the date of such walls when found :

(1) The later the date the greater the likelihood of finding in the walls other materials than quarry stones and unbaked bricks, as, *e.g.*, fragments of classical building, kiln-burnt bricks, or especially clay tiles. If these occurred the wall could hardly date from the heroic age.

(2) The style of painting on the lime wainscoting was a sure test of age, for a wall could not possibly be later than the plaster which covered it.

(3) The material and workmanship of the parastades, of the free-standing columns, and of the door-sills were another sure test of age.

(4) There was the evidence of potsherds and other objects found near a wall, but into this point Dr. Dörpfeld, as an architect, did not propose to enter. Applying these tests to the case of Tiryns :

(1) After four months' careful examination Dr. Dörpfeld had found no trace of other materials in the walls of the palace than quarry stones bonded with clay and sun-dried bricks. Appearances which had been attributed by Mr. Penrose, Mr. Stillman, and others to the presence of kiln-burnt bricks and of lime mortar were in fact due to a conflagration which had destroyed the palace, and had in parts calcined the walls. Walls which did contain other material would be found on close examination to belong either to the foundations of a Byzantine church or to Byzantine tombs, as indicated in the plan.

(2) The wall-paintings, some of which were found *in situ* on the walls, while others lay on the floor, agreed closely in

design and ornamentation with the stone reliefs of the dome-shaped tombs at Mycenae and with the famous ceiling of the *Thalamos* found at Orchomenus. The great antiquity of those examples had never been doubted. Walls decorated with such designs could not be otherwise than prehistoric.

(3) As to the working of the antae and the door-sills, this had been carried out at Tiryns with the stone-saw, the pick-axe, and the cylindrical bore, the very instruments whose use was characteristic of the dome-shaped tombs and the Lion Gate at Mycenae. The use of these tools at Tiryns had strangely been taken by Mr. Stillman as direct evidence of the lateness of the building. Dr. Dörpfeld was quite prepared to prove on the spot that they had been used in the admittedly prehistoric buildings at Mycenae. Further evidence of the antiquity of the palace was furnished by the close correspondence of the angles of the outer wall of the Acropolis with those of the palace. The masonry of the inner and outer walls was really identical, though in the one case small and in the other colossal stones had been used, a natural distinction between the walls of a dwelling-house and of a fortress. Again, the alabaster frieze, inlaid with small pieces of Egyptian glass (*κύανος*), found in the vestibule of the *Megaron*, closely resembled in construction and design the reliefs found in the treasury at Orchomenus. Similar friezes had been found in most ancient buildings in Mesopotamia, and such a frieze of *κύανος* was distinctly mentioned by Homer in his description of the palace of Alcinous. In conclusion, Dr. Dörpfeld touched on the question of the agreement of the plan of the palace at Tiryns with the dwelling-house implied in various parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He doubted whether Homer's statements were complete enough to allow of a trustworthy reconstruction of the Homeric palace, but in his opinion, though Homer nowhere described the palace at Tiryns, there was essential agreement between his statements and the plan of that palace. Dr. Dörpfeld considered that the technical evidence he had brought forward could only be met by actual counter-proofs

that the palace at Tiryns dated from Macedonian or even Byzantine times.

As Mr. Stillman was not able to be present, MR. PELHAM, who explained that he to some extent shared the doubts expressed by Messrs. Penrose and Stillman, read a paper which Mr. Stillman had written for the occasion, and which briefly summed up the arguments he had already put forward. After long study of prehistoric monuments in Italy and in some parts of Greece, he had come to the conclusion that such buildings showed no evidence of stone-cutting proper, *i.e.*, the use of edge tools, chisels, &c., in shaping stone to its position. No appliances seem to have been used beyond the drill, the stone-axe or hammer, and trituration. Any ruin to be attributed to the prehistoric epoch in which Tiryns was founded must conform to these technical conditions. But at Tiryns the stones were cut with a chisel, sawn, and drilled with a tubular drill of apparently rather modern and excellent metallic make, laid with profusion of mortar, and accompanied by burnt bricks, all indications of a comparatively modern date. Further, the bases of the columns were cut in a rude and slovenly style, and no columns had been found to correspond. The Acropolis walls—the latest visible work of the classical Tiryns—were of a solid, deliberate, and most painstaking character; while the house walls, with their rude bases for columns (which were probably of built-up material), were hasty, flimsy, and entirely unlike any archaic work the writer had ever seen. Such technical indications forbade the hypothesis of an early barbarism antecedent to Greek civilisation, so the only alternative was to come down to a relapse into barbarism after the fall of that civilisation. Tiryns was unoccupied in the time of Pausanias, and there was no evidence of any occupation between the destruction of the city by the Argives and his time. Nor was there any trace of an occupation later than that to which we owed the walls now in question, although in places there seemed to be some evidence of buildings beneath them. In some parts of the ruin there were admitted evidences of Byzantine occupation, and there was no technical difference between the work ther

and elsewhere. Mr. Stillman's conclusion was that this Byzantine occupation was the only one which had taken place after the destruction of Tiryns by the Argives, and that the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann could only be attributed to the period of that occupation.

PROFESSOR MIDDLETON opened the discussion upon the papers which had been read. The main reasons, he said, against the antiquity of the building seemed to be (1) the fact that the stones of the wall of the palace were small compared with those of the outside wall. Of this the natural explanation was that in building a thin wall it would be extremely inconvenient to use large stones; (2) the tools employed were said not to be consistent with an early period. In his opinion the tools used in working the Tirynthian walls were a sharp-pointed hammer, a chisel, a saw, and two sorts of drills. All these were used in Egypt at a very early period. The drills and saw had clearly been used with some hard stone such as sapphire or emery, as might be seen from the rapidity with which they had cut into the stone. The rapidity of the saw-cuts and of the spirals of the drills would have been impossible with metal tools, and could only be explained by the use either of diamond-studded drills or of those worked with loose emery or powdered corundum—tools certainly of extreme antiquity. As to mortar or burnt bricks, even if they occurred in these walls (and Dr. Dörpfeld maintained the contrary) there was ample evidence of their use in other countries far earlier than the date claimed for the Tirynthian palace. Another proof of early age was the use of wooden columns. Not a single stone column had been found. It was generally accepted that wooden columns were only used in very early times. Again, the extreme care with which the walls had been originally built was another evidence in favour of Dr. Schliemann's and against Mr. Stillman's theory. Though built of rubble they were first smoothed outside with clay, then overlaid with three coats of stucco, the last, which took the paintings, being almost of pure lime. In some rooms the walls had further a carefully-fitted wooden lining, as was proved by dowel marks, and in some cases pegs still existing

in the wall. The constant occurrence in the *débris* of small pieces of bronze made it almost certain that metal plates had been nailed to the wooden planks. This style of ornamentation, which must have had an extraordinarily rich effect, was mentioned in Homer, and was known to have been used in the Treasury of Atreus. The alabaster frieze and the wall-paintings were in their character and design further unmistakable evidence of archaic work, showing distinct traces of Phœnician and Egyptian influence.

MR. PELHAM said that his position was that of one who waited to have his doubts removed. He had seen a large number of prehistoric remains in Italy and a few in Greece, and certain points in these remains at Tiryns had certainly startled him. He asked whether the walls rested on the natural rock or on *débris*. (To this Dr. Schliemann at once replied that they went down to the rock.) Then the character of the work—not merely the smallness of the stones, which Professor Middleton had explained—seemed to him far more slovenly than one would have expected. Then there was need of some clearer line of distinction between the early work and that which was admitted to be Byzantine. Where did the latter end and the prehistoric work begin? As to the use of mortar, he did not think that the Roman instances adduced by Professor Middleton were conclusive, nor did he think that much would be gained for the decision of the question at issue by instances drawn from buildings which could conceivably have come under the influence of Etruria.

Replying to some of the objections raised, DR. SCHLIEMANN dwelt particularly upon the very perfect system of drainage which had been discovered in the palace.

Replying to Mr. Penrose, DR. DÖRPFELD asserted that no *burnt brick* had been found in any part of the building that was claimed as prehistoric, as he was prepared to prove to any one on the spot. As to the tools used, they were identical with those of which traces were clearly visible on the admittedly prehistoric walls in Tiryns, Mycenæ, and Orchomenus. This also he was prepared to prove to any one on the spot.

He held, therefore, that the main contentions of Messrs. Penrose and Stillman fell to the ground.

MR. PENROSE, replying on his part, said that no discussion could really settle the questions at issue that did not, as Drs. Schliemann and Dörpfeld had suggested, take place on the spot. He was surprised, however, to hear Dr. Dörpfeld's assertion that no burnt bricks were found except in the so-called Byzantine church. Though he had no notes to refer to, his recollection was strong that they occurred elsewhere. He had already brought forward the opinion of a practical brick-maker that the phenomena could not be accounted for by the theory of a conflagration. Dr. Dörpfeld had quoted Vitruvius, but he had always understood Vitruvius to refer in that passage not to sun-dried, but to kiln-burnt bricks. Mr. Penrose added that he would be quite satisfied with his part in the discussion if it had encouraged further examination of this most interesting discovery, which, whatever the outcome, must reflect the greatest possible credit on Dr. Schliemann and his able coadjutor.

MR. KARL BLIND quoted Mr. James Fergusson's opinion in support of the antiquity of the Tirynthian palace, and the discussion closed.

THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH

OF

**THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF
HELLENIC STUDIES.**

SESSION of 1885-6.

December 1, 1885.

The Annual Meeting was held in the Archaeological Library on *Tuesday, December 1, at 4 P.M.*

The Master of Trinity College was re-elected Chairman, Professor Sidney Colvin Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Oscar Browning Secretary. The retiring Members of the Committee, Professor S. Colvin, Mr. O. Browning, Dr. Reid and Dr. Jackson were re-elected.

PROFESSOR COLVIN read a paper on the 'Statuette of a River God,' formerly belonging to J. M. W. Turner. This is the only extant river god in the round, which can certainly be identified as such, and analogous to the figures of the river god of the Parthenon which is only identified by inference. The style is 'Pergamene'; the treatment of the muscles and of the hair being both analogous to that of the Pergamene sculptures. Perhaps more members of the group to which this belonged may be hereafter identified.

MR. VERRALL read a paper on the 'σὺριγξ in the Chariot-wheel,' as described by the Attic tragedians. The object of

the paper was to show that the interpretation 'box' or 'nave-hole,' commonly given, is inconsistent with other meanings of *σῦριγξ* and with the use of the tragedians, and to call attention to the interpretation given by the scholiast on Aesch. *Septem contra Thebas* 205, according to which the *σῦριγγες* were the 'cross-staves' in an archaic type of wheel, the predecessor of the form with spokes.

March 11, 1886.

The Terminal Meeting was held in the Archæological Library at 4 P.M. on *Thursday, March 11th, 1886.*

MR. WALDSTEIN read a paper on the 'Statue of the Venus Genetrix in the Louvre' and the 'Esquiline Venus, in the museum of the Capitol.' He pointed out that the statue of the Venus Genetrix (of which many replicas exist) had previously been compared with the representation of a Venus Genetrix on a coin of Sabina, and had thus been brought into connection with the famous statue of the Venus Genetrix by the sculptor Arkesilaos. This view had since been abandoned.

Without any reference to the comparison of the statue with the coin and to its possible attribution to Arkesilaos, he had found that the peculiar characteristics of style manifested in this Venus were most nearly approached, of all most excellent works known to him, in the female figure of the bronze group at Naples known as Orestes and Electra, especially when the difference of material (marble and bronze) was taken into account; and he was thus led to conclude that the Venus Genetrix most closely approached the school and the age of Pasiteles, to which the Naples group must beyond doubt be ascribed. When these facts were borne in mind, a reconsideration of the coin showed that there were noticeable similarities between the figure on the coin and the statue in the Louvre; that the coin reproduced with the greatest probability the statue of the Venus Genetrix in her temple dedicated by Caesar in the year 46 B.C.; that the statue dedicated by Caesar was by the sculptor Arkesilaos, the well-

known contemporary of Pasiteles, mentioned in the same passage with him by Pliny quoting Varro ; and that thus the attribution of the type of the statue in the Louvre to the sculptor Arkesilaos receives the very strongest support.

MR. WALDSTEIN did not propose to enter upon the question of the interpretation of the interesting statue of the Esquiline Venus. He enumerated the peculiarities of style in this statue, laying particular stress on the contrast between the extreme delicacy and realism in the modelling of the nude body of this figure and the return to almost archaic simplicity and severity in the upper part of the head (nose, brow, hair). These peculiarities he believed to be those of the school of Pasiteles, and he therefore ventured to ascribe also this statue to that period and school.



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